

**WILSON'S  
LAST  
BUDGET**

# Maclean's

**THE FRAGILE PEACE**

A photograph of a pilot with a mustache, wearing a flight helmet and oxygen mask, sitting in the cockpit of a fighter jet. The pilot is looking forward with a serious expression. The background shows a clear sky and parts of the aircraft's structure.

# COMING HOME

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**PROUD OF THEIR WARTIME PERFORMANCE,  
CANADIAN FORCES ARE LEAVING THE GULF**

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**THE JOY AND HORROR OF KUWAIT CITY**

Capt. Gerard MacKinnon Of Windsor, Ont., In CF-18 At Canada Dry Base



Our international Express lounge serves as long-haul passengers with an extensive menu, more, larger windows, full service, and deeper seats. It also offers a panoramic view.

After dedicated three gates to our Montreal service and two to Quebec, the Montreal gates are only 75 metres from the curb.

With 70 Canadian check-in counters (50% more than Terminal 1), featuring expanded technology, there will be shorter check-in delays by factor.

Terminal 2 handles a small number of flights. Over 75 million in more than 100,000 square feet of space, including the first Panavia Signature case in Canada and a River case.

Finally, a terminal with enough parking spots. There are 3,100 in all - 63% more than Terminal 1.

Both domestic and international passengers equipped with moving sidewalks.

The baggage system is the most modern and advanced in North America. Sophisticated laser sensors over 50 bags a minute by flight and destination accurately and automatically.

Passengers connecting to our Canadian Partner operated by Quebec Express will now have a friendly dedicated to their complete with its own security check point and dedicated roadway to aircraft.

The Grand Hall, a sweeping space reaching 100 feet beyond a soaring ceiling of glass. A cathedral of natural light and superior design for more than 100,000 people.

## LOOK WHAT *we* FOUND IN *our* SUGGESTION BOX.

Your comment or garden variety suggestion has matured a more subtle flow, but at Canadian Airlines it is the welcoming for our biggest stress.

As evidenced by Terminal 3, our new home in Toronto. With all modernity, it is the most advanced air terminal in Canada because it was designed by real travel experts: you, the public. In many instances on the result of conversations we've had with business travellers across Canada.

Simply, track of what you asked for.

you'll find here. To top that Terminal 3 is a welcome departure from what has gone before in a monumental endorsement.

After all, with over 60% of all air travel in Canada going to or from Toronto, a lot of people, including yourself, stand to benefit.

You might like to know that it is the only major terminal in Canada developed by private enterprise. (Naturally, conventional touches abound.)

### SOME CANADIAN AIRLINES - SOMETHING SPECIAL ON the GROUND.

The first thing about Terminal 3 that will impress you is the sheer size of it. And the aesthetic magnificence of the place.

Consider the facts:

We offer 30% more space than we had at Terminal 1 (the Canadian, you fly over 30,000 feet. You don't trip over them.)

Check-in counters have increased

from 50 to 70 and, legally, are positioned according to destination. Thus our improved technology will mean shorter lines and faster check-ins.

There are 3,000 parking spots, a 45% increase over Terminal 1.

About eight million passengers are expected to pass through Terminal 3 in your case. That's nothing - it's designed to take 14 million. Fortunately, all that extra room doesn't necessarily mean more legwork. Intelligent design is one reason. Automation is another.

For example, the distance from outside check-in to the departure gates for our Montreal service is a mere 75 metres.

Both our international and domestic parts feature moving sidewalks. And because Terminal 3 is designed as a semi-circle, most things are close at hand. By contrast, another major terminal was originally designed as a cargo facility and is laid out as our long corridor.

So for Duncan Miller, who can over half a mile to catch his plane. For Pierre Leonard, who must number 30 in a line

of 30. For Alexander Neary, who couldn't find a parking spot and missed her flight.

And for thousands of others who have suffered the indignities and inconveniences of business travel, we intend our Terminal 3.

We know you'll like it. After all, you designed it.

**Canadian**  
THE DAWN of CIVILIZED  
AIR TRAVEL.



◀The key to delivering better service for less? Delivering it more efficiently. Every business day, our drivers put their vehicles through a thorough inspection to prevent breakdowns. Individual routes are planned to reduce driving time to the minimum. Every single package and document is pre-loaded in exact order of delivery. We even carry our keys on our fingers (see the left hand), so we won't waste time fumbling for them.



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Ground. Air. One package. Or ten thousand. We handle them all. We deliver over 11 million parcels and documents a day. And because of our efficiency, we often do it for less. If that's the kind of package you're looking for, just call us at 416-736-3555. We run the tightest ship in the shipping business.



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Thinking about sending your packages on a world tour? Then it may interest you to know that no one reaches more of the world than we do. From Canada, UPS flies to 166 foreign countries and territories. Enough to satisfy the most adventurous world traveler.▷

# Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE MARCH 11 1991 VOL 104 NO 18

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## WORLD/COVER

### COMING HOME

One hundred hours after U.S.-led coalition forces launched a lightning ground attack against entrenched Iraqi troops, President George Bush announced that Kuwait had been liberated. Canadian and other allied soldiers made plans to return home. But in Kuwait City, grim tales of Iraqi murder and torture dampened the jubilation that greeted the liberating armies.



## SPECIAL REPORT

### RIDING THE MOVIES

The phenomenal expansion of Hollywood these years has created a heated competition between the entertainment giants MCA Inc. and the Walt Disney Co. As the two firms strive to perfect the technology of lasers, the clear winner is Orlando, Fla., the U.S. movie theme-park capital.



## BUSINESS

### OTTAWA'S SQUEEZE PLAY

Finance Minister Michael Wilson's budget included plans to limit pay increases for government workers and eliminate as many as 6,000 jobs. The announcement set the stage for a prolonged confrontation with Canada's 215,000 federal public servants. Union leaders called for a general strike.







# OPENING NOTES

Bob McKeown's ratings get a lift, Jean Chrétien upgrades his image, and Sears shows a revealing ad

## A SON'S COMPLAINT

Liberal leader Jean Chrétien, who used to bill himself as "the little guy from Shawinigan," is apparently trying to upgrade the downhome image he so carefully cultivated during his campaign for the party leadership in 1986. According to André Prime, political editor at the Montreal daily *Le Presse*, an angry Chrétien recently called reporter Paul Roy to complain about a story that described his father as a woodworker. The MP from Beauport told Roy that his late father was actually a machinist and he demanded a retraction. But Prime told McKeown's that Roy got the information from a curriculum vitae provided by Chrétien's campaign office in 1986. Chrétien said that *Le Presse* has often tried to make him look bad. Self-prime: "He accused us of being against him." Monique Borden, personal assistant to Chrétien, said: "Now, Mr. Chrétien said he believes the error may have occurred when the CV was translated from English to French." And she confirmed that the Liberal leader's father is, indeed, a machinist.

Chrétien: setting his father's record straight



Photo: David H. Wells

## Long gone, but not forgotten

Elizabeth Stuart has not spoken to her estranged husband, Al di Kopp, since last June. He returned to his native Iraq in 1988. But she saw him just two weeks ago—in a newspaper. As she flipped through the magazine, she noticed a photograph of di Kopp, 38, an Iraq prisoner of war in the Persian Gulf. "Nobody can look like Al," he said. "Al," said Stuart, 38, former peace officer in Church Point, N.S., 225 km from Halifax. In the photograph, di Kopp and five other Iraqis were being guarded by Egyptian soldiers. Stuart says that she was surprised—but not upset—that her estranged husband was a POW. "The main reason he married me was to defect during the Iraq-Iraq war," said Stuart, who married di

Kopp in 1983. "Plus, Al is an atheist of the Western people. He knew he would get his three square meals a day."



Iraq soldiers give themselves up

## TIMES, THEY ARE A-CHANGING

Rolling Stone magazine, once the voice of the 1960s counterculture, appears to have changed its taste. Although it opposed the Vietnam War, the publication has been a softer line on the Gulf conflict. In a show of patriotism, the March 21 issue features a string of three yellow ribbons on the cover. But publisher Jane Wrenner insists that the magazine is not pro-war. *Rolling Stone*: "It's about our soldiers. We want them home." Besides, he added, "It's a much different war." And a much different Rolling Stone, it appears.

## Mutiny on the flagship

*Profile Press Ltd.* announced last week that the marcelled Nicholas Mills had resigned as editor of *The Vancouver Star*. But according to insiders, Mills' leave-taking was precipitated by a new mutiny in the newsroom. Indeed, the *Star*'s Mills made so many enemies during his two years as editor that he went into hiding to work out a severance package. He emerged with his \$110,000 salary intact. In return, he will write a twice-weekly column. But the real triumph, for a man once a colleague described as "up and down like a toilet seat," was keeping his *Star*-based membership at the post Vancouver *Lower*: *Stems Club*.

## AN AD CAMPAIGN EXPOSED

The government of Prince Edward Island has reacted strongly to Sears Canada's latest TV ad campaign promoting its Sears Club credit card. The ad shows a series of such unusual clips as the Polo Bear Club in Ontario. But it is a picture of a group of people, apparently naked, holding up a large towel and purporting to be members of the World's Naked's Way Model Club that inspired Lawrence MacPheerson, the province's deputy minister of tourism. He has demanded that Sears change the ad. Said MacPheerson:

Always: truth



"That ad sends out a false impression of P.E.I. It doesn't fit our family image—as the birthplace of Canada, the Fathers of Confederation and home of Green Gables." Sears spokesman Ross Ragney said that the naked club does not. But Sears has agreed to remove the island reference. Said Ragney: "Obviously, the purpose is to show that we sell clothing, but it really seemed to embarrass them." Meanwhile, P.E.I. Sears outlets have been receiving calls from people wanting to join the naked club. But MacPheerson was adamant: "They can get their naked camp in Timbuctoo or wherever," he said. "But never in P.E.I." The naked truth.



P.E.I. beach: a family image

## TALES OF BURIED PRAIRIE TREASURE

The battle over Saskatchewan's Battleford-Alameda claim has opened a new front. Edelbert and Harold Herdoff, two Alameda ranchers, are trying to prevent the dam's construction. According to Anthony Madewack, superintendent for a construction company on the site, their concerns may not be entirely environmental. The government has expropriated 800 acres of the brothers' land. Madewack says that Harold visited the site last year and said that there are "valuable buried in the valley." But Harold claims that he was referring to the value of the land itself, \$80, the brothers have been offered \$265,000 for the land. Said George Hurd, vice-president of the Saskatchewan Development Authority: "They may not need this much to an eastern urbanite, but not here on a depressed prairie, it is."

## Real initiative

Unemployed for almost four years, Ronald Krough of Sydney, N.S., found a novel way of finding work: a lottery.



Krough: more lotteries

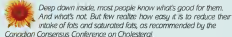
Krough, a jack-of-all-trades, offered himself as free labor to four winners for a week each. To his surprise, 60 people bought the \$25 tickets. As a result, Krough said that he plans more lotteries. "I will keep going until I get a full-time job," he said. So far, the province has not objected, and with unemployment now running at 17.5 per cent, it is not likely to.

## A liberating assignment

As the first TV reporter to broadcast from liberated Kuwait City, *Can News* correspondent Bob McKeown scored a journalistic breakthrough. And now, his star is rising fast. If the U.S. network, Although CBS remains tight-lipped about McKeown's next assignment, his agent, Arthur Katsenky, is betting it big things for the Ottawa-based reporter. Said Katsenky: "It's a role he's not going to change." The *Windy City* was initially scheduled as McKeown's posting after the Gulf War ended. But as word of his Kuwait trip spread, CBS said that McKeown, who was a host of *CBC's* *The 6th Sense* until last year, will assume a higher profile at the network. One possibility: substituting for anchorman Don Edwards on the evening news. Said Katsenky: "I'm sure CBS will try to maximize his income."



McKeown: a rising star at CBS



You see, a diet that is low in saturated fat and has a high proportion of polyunsaturated fats versus saturated fats is an important factor in maintaining good heart health. Beel has 55% polyunsaturates and 25% saturates. And Beel is the only brand of margarine in Canada that isn't hydrogenated.

What's more, Becel is made with sunflower oil. So whether you use it as a spread or a cooking ingredient, you'll enjoy its delicate, natural taste.

*If your instincts tell you that you should be taking better care of yourself, try Becel.*

Because, bearing all this in mind, it's always best to follow your heart.



BECEL TAKES YOUR HEALTH TO HEART.



## A budget for building a healthier Canada

**C**anada, as we know it, is not sustainable economically or constitutionally. Debt threatens to devour us and the sheer size has, along with the worldwide recession, undermined national unity. Neither Jacques Parizeau nor the Reform Party's Preston Manning would have much currency if Canada were riding a wave of prosperity. I suspect that the current mood for independence in Quebec has more to do with the collapse in the forestry industry, high interest rates, high taxes and 15-per-cent unemployment in Montreal than it has to do with the collapse of Meech Lake.

But Quere's polls underscore the fact that that country simply isn't working yet. Pierre Trudeau's "just society" besetgasted as with its aggressive unreality of benefits to the rich and poor alike, and enormous transfer payments to provinces in support of gold-plated programs. Besides leaving as a legacy of economic problems, Trudeau's 1962 Congress was flawed. In atomizing class classism—rather than curing it, and allowing Quebec's progress to overturn a social downslide which had declared itself a sign that the end of the road of English Canada lay ahead, the cost of the 1962 Congress was high. Like the 1960 survey 1962, another formula in this flawed—without how Wendell and Newfoundland, with peasant-soldier populists, could overturn. Much like even though it was approved unanimously three years before, and even though promises representing 90 per cent

Fortunately, Michael Wilson's budget last week contains the Tories' attack on the debt problem, curtailing program spending to less than the rate of inflation and taking aim at civil-service salaries and transfer payments. The hated GST is a poison, a money machine whose wild profits will be legitimately earmarked towards paying the debt. Still, an inability to control interest rates or other government spending plunges Ottawa, with the result that both debts and interest rates are higher than they should be.

*The hated GST is a godsend, a money machine whose windfall profits will be legislatively earmarked towards paying the debt*

**The debt is frightening.** One hour from now, we will all be \$3.5 million deeper in debt. By tomorrow, add another \$84 million. Ottawa's debt now totals \$388.6 billion, or \$15,000 for each man, woman and child, up from \$3,691 per head in 1976. This year, it will hit \$460 billion. The collective governmental debt is

more than \$900 billion, or roughly another \$1,850 per person, giving Canadians the dubious distinction of being among the world's most indebted citizens. Hopefully within one year, the deficit, interest rates and unemployment will be much lower, as the recession and the Gulf War end and the G7 plus fiscal restraints yield a profit in the billions.

may help unite Canada and clean up the debt problem at the same time. The starting point is the Almont report, the proposed rebuttal by Quebec's ruling Liberal party to the demise of Meech Lake. Many of its suggestions for dividing powers are valid, especially those which eliminate duplication. Unfortunately, many will do the opposite and add layers to an over-governed, overtaxed country.

Allard recommends that Québec obtain a clearer control over agriculture, unemployment, social insurance, communications, culture, regional development, social and municipal affairs, education, energy, housing, language, environment, highways, health, research and development, natural resources, personnel, policing or public security, health, environment, tourism and trade, along with industry and commerce. Allard suggests shared power over education, immigration, foreign policy, the justice system, financial institutions, justice, active labour market, health, transport and telecommunications. It leaves the following powers to Ottawa for defence, communications, currency and coinage, debt management and equalization payments.

The problem is that Ottawa cannot manage the country and other nations without the ability to raise more disposable income from lower levels of governments. Besides that, as a nation, there has been closer economic integration with the rest of the world, and of environmental scrutiny—federal, provincial, regional and municipal, along with consumer subunits in sensitive regions. In sum, environment is best left as the exclusive jurisdiction of the federal government because concerns cross boundaries. Even if provinces go ahead with their own environmental policies, scaled-down forms of federalism will have to be reinvented to co-ordinate laws, adequate budgets and sign international treaties. The same reasoning applies to trade, energy and other departments. The next step is to tell wilder Prime Minister Borden's proposed amendments to sections 91 and 92 of the British North America Act, 1867, to the House of Commons and all 16 provinces. Let's hope that Mulroney's suggestions will be more sensible.

The Prime Minister says that some support for his proposals. "There is a certain hope in federations," says Orin's co-speech Promises Fall Fast. "If Canada didn't exist, we'd have to invent it. Everyone should be open to institutional reform. We must look at why the country doesn't work that well and look at the federal-provincial relationship. There is a lot of duplication and overlap and rivalry. I don't have any secret ones."

Rae and English-Canada's other premiers oppose any bilateral deal between Ottawa and Quebec, all provisions must be avoided, even if negotiations can be unilaterally conducted. "Loose lips sink ships," adds Rae. "I'm not going to make out a position without consulting with the people of the province first. The biggest mistake that I could make is to develop a blueprint approach. Let us seriously discuss as a country how we can organize ourselves better and remember the advantages of being together."

If there's one unifying force among Canadians, it is their dislike for government and taxes. Hopefully, that can be parlayed into a new constitutional order which can also deliver such side benefits as less red tape, lower taxes and more efficiency. Divided, we conquer ourselves. But if united in an effort to create a lean, mean-state tailored for the 21st century, we'll prosper.

# THE BATTLE FOR QUEBEC

**JEAN CHRETIEN'S LIBERALS ARE TRYING TO REVIVE THE PARTY'S FORTUNES IN ITS HEARTLAND**

At 47, Maurice Corbel has been a loyal and active member of the federal Liberal Party for more than half her life. A resident of the ridings of St-Jovite/Beauport, east of Montreal, Corbel was secretary of the local Liberal association from 1977 to 1983. Since then, she has served four consecutive terms as the party's riding president. But in the past year, she has not organized a single local event for the Liberals. And in the spring, when elections are held for a new riding executive, Corbel, as well as the secretary and treasurer of the local party executive, will step down. In fact, Corbel, who worked alongside three-children mother Jean Charest for the federalist "No" vote in the 1980 Quebec referendum, and that she is tempted to support the pro-independence, the Quiet Revolution. A key reason for disappointment in Chretien as an leader. Declared Corbel last week "Chretien says he loves Quebec, but I do not think he shows much respect for Quebecers."

Eight months after winning the Liberal leadership, Chretien still lacks that perception in his native province. In Ottawa, meanwhile, the 57-year-old leader has conducted an often fractious election, while his handling of such contentious issues as the Gulf War has drawn criticism from some members of the party's rank and file. Then, last week, an angry opponent in Chretien to promise a benign government, one day. Although doctors say that he will recover completely, Chretien is expected to be sidelined for between two and six weeks.

His absence occurs when the party could be capitalizing on signs of a Liberal resurgence in the rest of the country. Recent national polls show the Liberals overtaking the New Democratic Party in public support for the first time since last September. The Conservatives' seats will be held.

But in Quebec, the province that has traditionally served as the Liberal's power base, both current and disenchanted former party workers say that its standing has seldom been lower. Even a high of more than 60,000 members shortly before last year's leadership vote, some Liberal insiders predict that voter loyalty in the province will soon drop to about 20,000 people. In many of the province's 75 ridings, the party that once dominated Quebec has virtually no representation—or no active organization at all. Meanwhile, the president of

ability to define a constitutional policy acceptable to the constituents of Quebecers.

Chretien's problems in Quebec have their roots in the Meech Lake constitutional accord, which many people both inside and outside the province say he helped to deliver. In fact, Chretien helped publicly on whether he supported or opposed the accord in its final amended form. But the perception that he worked against it is a key reason for his unpopularity within his own province—and for his popularity outside it. In welcoming Mulroney's conversion with Liberals outside Quebec, many at times apologetically cited his position to the accord as one reason for lacking the Liberal's leader. Said Gina Newhouse, the president of Saskatchewan Liberals: "I did not like Meech because I thought it was made for just part of the country. People like Mr. Chretien because they think he thinks of more than just Quebec."

That is also a reason for Chretien's special strength in Newfoundland, where Premier Clyde Wells emerged as the leading opponent of the accord. Said Gerald Givens of Miramichi, N.B., the president of the Liberal party in

Newfoundland and Labrador: "People here like Clyde Wells, and they know Mr. Wells and Mr. Chretien think a lot alike. That only helps Mr. Chretien."

Still, Chretien and his advisers say that for the party to regain power, he will have to restore the Liberals' support in Quebec. Some Liberals say that an endorsement for Quebec independence would be a disfiguring bludgeon; the party should now seek the opportunity to outline an acceptable federalist alternative for the future. Some former cabinet ministers, such as Jean, now chairman of the party's policy committee in Quebec: "This is a period of coming off. The Liberals should now take up the discussion and talk about how to satisfy not only Quebec's needs, but the needs of all the provinces." So far, however, Chretien has said little more than that he is willing to consider a redefinition of federal and provincial powers.

Meanwhile, Chretien is planning two key administrative moves. In an interview with



Chretien outside Quebec, many Liberals say their leader speaks for Canada

Martel's Senator Leo Kellor and that he has accepted a request to take over as the party's chief had runner Kellor, a close associate of billionaire Charles Bronfman, is a leading figure in Montreal's Jewish community, which has provided major financial support to the party. Still, Kellor said that he is "quite unhappy" with the party's criticism of Canada's participation in the Gulf War. Declared the senator: "I do not know why we cannot be celebrating like everybody else. Do we really need to be going around talking about 'being our enemy'?" He also endorsed the government's position, and I think we have something to be proud of in that."

As well, the Liberals will announce soon that Michael Power, a Montreal lawyer who once was Chretien's chief of staff, will formally take full-time charge of organizing efforts in Quebec. That may help to lessen strong criticism of the operation of Chretien's office. Many Liberals say that there is no clear-cut division of duties between Power and Chretien's principal secretary and legislative aide, Edward Goldberry—resulting in frequent confusion and resentment between each man's supporters.

At the same time, Chretien has had to confront other demands on both administrative and ideological fronts. Within the party's 83-member caucus, some MPs criticized Chretien's choice of Hamiltonian as Stella Caputo as deeply liberal, passing over Paul Martin, who finished second in Chretien in last year's leadership race. But other Liberals say they turned against Martin himself last month when he

announced that he would begin speaking not independently on the need for constitutional reform because of a "vacuum" in official Liberal policy.

Some insiders say that a measure of internal division is inevitable because of Chretien's status as a relative newcomer within the caucus. Because Chretien did not lead the party through the last election, many Liberals say that he needs time to put his individual stamp on the caucus. And not only Chretien's supporters say that reports of caucus divisions have been greatly overblown. Declared Therese Wappel, a Toronto-area MP and former leadership candidate: "There is a large difference between the media interpretation of how Mr. Chretien is getting on and the terrible way that he is really getting on."

As well, some Liberals say that the party's apparent weakness in Quebec has produced positive side effects elsewhere in the country. Declared Elia Elia, a Liberal in Copernicus, N.W.T., a community of 1,180: "Up here, we think Mr. Chretien speaks for all Canada. We are tired of politicians who think only of Quebec." Added Morris Kaufman, a member of the party executive in Manitoba: "The party is rediscovering different parts of Canada away from its old power bases. That is not a bad thing." Still, Chretien now has to reverse his party's decline in Quebec in order for the Liberals to remain a national political force.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH with correspondence reports

## National Notes

### INTEGRITY IN OFFICE

Reform party leader Preston Manning declined a proposed 40-page questionnaire that would require anyone seeking to run as a Reform candidate to disclose, among other things, past alcohol and drug abuse and personal views on controversial issues such as abortion. Manning said that the party desired the questionnaire as a response to public cynicism about the integrity of politicians.

### ADMITTING FAILURE

Declining before a Quebec legislative committee about last year's 75-day stand-off between Mulroney and authoritarian Premier Roy, a provincial police director Robert Levesque said that his force "lost the war" as both the technical and public relations fronts. Levesque said that the force lacked military-style equipment and that it "had trouble putting across the context of the crisis to the media."

### DEPRIVING JUSTICE

Justice Minister Ron Campbell said that he will not order a new trial for David Magard, 38, serving a life sentence for a 1989 murder in Saskatoon. Magard's mother and lawyer had pressed Campbell for months. Claiming that new forensic evidence raised doubts about Magard's guilt and that Saskatoon police had an improperly processed witness.

### URBAN VIOLENCE

Regina and Saskatoon topped the list with the highest homicide rates among 20 major Canadian cities in 1990, according to 4.7 and 4.36 homicides per 100,000 population. At the other end of the scale, St. John's, Nfld., had no homicides.

### NO REFORM FOR CHS

Selector General Pierre Cadogan rejected a series of proposals from an advisory Committee committee aimed mainly at increasing political control of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service. Cadogan said that there was no need to change the legislation that established the agency seven years ago to take over security functions from the RCMP.

### BOOMING BIRTHRATES

The nation's birthrate jumped 3.5 per cent in 1989 to 15 live births for every 1,000 people, against 14.5 births per 1,000 in 1988, says a Statistics Canada report. It was the biggest increase since the baby boom in the 1950s. StatCan said that the 1989 birthrate was probably due to the fact that many women of babies from the boom era have reached their 30s.



Martin (left) Cogswell confronting internal divisions

the party's Quebec wing. Former cabinet minister Francis Perron, says that he will not run again when his current mandate expires in May. And close associates of Perron say that he has privately expressed his disapproval with the party's

poorness. "So far, however, Chretien has said little more than that he is willing to consider a redefinition of federal and provincial powers. Meanwhile, Chretien is planning two key administrative moves. In an interview with







# COMING HOME

VICTORIOUS ALLIED TROOPS MAKE PLANS TO RETURN FROM THE GULF AFTER A STUNNING 100-HOUR GROUND WAR



When historians write their accounts of the Persian Gulf War, they will undoubtedly note that, as the allied forces were preparing to launch their long-awaited land assault against the supposedly invincible Iraqi defenses in Kuwait, countless Iraqi soldiers were cowering in their bunkers, desperately waiting to surrender. That is the way the war went, in fact. Some Iraqi flags flew high. Some fought. Those states were recorded in their tanks, blasted by bombs and artillery shells, blown apart by allied planes as they flew north from Kuwait City, leaving a smoldering mess of charred bodies and burnt-out vehicles—a traffic jam from hell. No more one-million-strong army. No more gleaming divisions from Saddam Hussein. The desert was a graveyard for his dreams of pre-Arab dominance, the rampancy respect of his sprawling empire, the so-called butcher of Baghdad, who had promised "rivers of blood" only to see the blood run mostly Iraqis, but not just the weapons of defiance and desert from the country's ruined capital, but humiliated clanked victory.

One hundred hours is all it took. One hundred stunning hours for U.S.-led forces to storm inland and through the entrenched Iraqi lines on the Kuwait-Saudi Arabian border and complete the rout that coalition warplanes had begun six weeks earlier. It was President George Bush who finally entered the game of February. After receiving repeated pleas of aid from Hussein, and under growing interna-

tional pressure to stop the bloodshed, Bush went on television Wednesday night and announced a ceasefire, effective on Feb. 27 at midnight airt. Presiding over the liberation of Kuwait and the defeat of Iraq's army, he added: "We declared that the aggression against Kuwait would not stand, and tonight America and the world have kept their word." In the post-war euphoria, only the most hard-line skeptics sought to put the allies' accomplishment in

perspective: the triumph, however satisfying, of a superpower and its 32 partners over a Third World country with a gross domestic product somewhat less than that of Alberta. By the time the fighting stopped, Iraq had spent at least \$12 billion on the war against it, including paying war reparations to Kuwait. On the weekend, coalition forces led by U.S. Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, the beachhead was also the site of the most vicious, blood-soaked attacks, were scheduled to meet their Iraqi counterparts at an unspecified site to work out a final settlement and exchange of prisoners.

The coalition also sought the release of thousands of Kuwaiti civilians when the Iraqi-led forces besieged during the occupation, many in the desperate last days. The missing people, along with the grisly tales of Iraqi machine and mortar, the damaged buildings and burning of wells, drenched the flag-waving, strategy-bagging politicians that greeted the liberating armies.

**Combat:** For Canada, which engaged in desert combat for the first time in nearly 40 years, the war's end meant a quickly accumulating list of at least some of the nation's 2,800 reserves and women in the Gulf. The



Coalition troops liberate Kuwait City; a Kuwaiti boy (below) denounces Iraqi soldiers, fleeing on wheels and grays tales of Iraqi murder

CR-18 Desert Fox fighter squadron, based at the tiny canton of Qatar, sent 2,700 sorties, including 88 offensive bombing sorties in the final week. And although some domestic critics complained that the country had jeopardized its traditional peacekeeping role on the world stage, no one argued over one outcome: not a single Canadian casualty.

**Search:** The coalition's general war aim was to liberate Kuwait, as Schwarzkopf said, the low casualty count was nothing short of "astounding." In all, 145 allied soldiers were killed in combat, including 28 when an Iraqi Scout missile slammed into a congested-metal barracks at Al Mishur, Saudi Arabia, last Monday night. Iraqi casualties were more difficult to gauge, and infinitely more horrific: some estimates exceeded 100,000 dead. An estimated 175,000 Iraqi soldiers were taken prisoner, compared with 13 from coalition members' captivities.

For the Iraqis, living into the daylight of a devastated country, the coalition spent five days at last from the grim ritual of daily bombings. Soldiers fired guns into the air in celebration, and children rode bicycles amid the rubble. Do doctors worried of a potential health disaster as the sewage-filled streets of Baghdad, while in the southern city of Basra

there were reports of utter chaos as fleeing soldiers struggled home from Kuwait. Meanwhile, Baghdad radio, in the black-and-white style of Big Brother, insisted they "Iraq is the one who is in control and victorious." At the weekend, the Nigerian government denied published reports that Big Brother himself, Sani Abacha, who had not been seen in public since before the war ended, was seeking asylum in their country.

But even Hussein's eventual exit could not promise peace and stability for a transmutant region. U.S. Secretary of State James Baker was scheduled to visit the Middle East this week to discuss security and reconstruction with Arab leaders, while Internal Affairs Minister Jas Clark planned his own trip—to Saudi Arabia, Israel and Jordan—to offer postwar initiatives. In a radio address to American troops on Saturday, Bush declared that "the first test of a new world order has been passed." But, as even the President has admitted, winning the war was the easy part. Trying to launch a new world order on the ashes and turbulent ruins of the Middle East will require answers that no bombs, however smart, will ever provide.

BOB LEVIN with correspondent's reports

## World Notes

### SHUTTING THE WILSONIAN PACE

In Budapest, Hungary and other nations members of the new Warsaw Pact nations agreed to dissolve their 36-year-old military alliance by March 31. Officials of the Soviet Union, Poland, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia also agreed to meet again by July 31 to discuss reorganizing the pact's policy of cooperation. Delegates said that the democratic revolutions that swept Eastern Europe in late 1989, and the end of Cold War tensions, made the alliance obsolete.

### A VOTE FOR CHANGE

In the first free elections in Bangladesh in 20 years, the center Bangladesh Nationalist Party won 140 seats in the 300-seat parliament. After the vote, the party's leader, 45-year-old Jagu Khan, said: "We—these leaders, Gen. Ziaur Rahman, raised the flag for a new country for the six years until his assassination in 1981—ought the support of smaller parties as an effort to form a majority coalition in parliament. An interim government called the elections after President Hosain Mohammad Ershad, who seized power in a 1982 coup, stepped last December in the face of a violent campaign to remove him.

### VIOLENCE IN ALBANIA

Political dissidents in Albania, the last Socialist state in Eastern Europe, reported mass arrests and harassment of opposition activists. Albania's Communist leader, Ramiz Alia, has embarked on a campaign of reform since the death of his last-hand predecessor, Enver Hoxha, in 1985. But the pace of reforms has been slow in many areas, where the last month, tapping statues of Hoxha around the country.

### CONTAINING KASHMIR

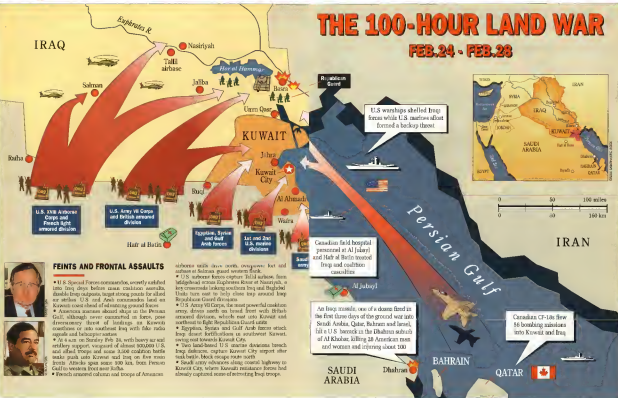
India continued its direct rule over Kashmir after Muslim extremists kidnapped the daughter of a member of parliament. At least 2,000 people have been killed in Muslim-dominated Kashmir since New Delhi officials took direct control of the border region a year ago to try to curb violence and demand for independence or secession to Pakistan.

### A THREATENED FAMINE

The United Nations appealed for urgent food aid for six million Ethiopians suffering from severe drought and the effects of civil war. Officials of the organization's Rome-based World Food Program said that the East African country needed more than 600,000 tons of food relief and \$100 million to cover the cost of transporting the supplies to drought victims.

# THE 100-HOUR LAND WAR

FEB. 24 - FEB. 28



## FEINTS AND FRONTAL ASSAULTS

- U.S. Special Forces commandos, secretly shifted into Iraq days before major coalition assaults, disabled Iraqi outposts, target strong points for allied air strikes. U.S. and Arab commandos land on Kuwait coast ahead of advancing ground forces.
- American commandos aboard ships in the Persian Gulf, although never constructed in force, pose a direct threat of landings in Kuwait coastline or into southwest Iraq with fake radio signals and helicopter noises.
- At 4 a.m. on Sunday Feb. 28, with heavy air and artillery support, vanguards of almost 900,000 U.S. and allied troops and some 3,500 coalition battle tanks push into Kuwait and Iraq on five main fronts. Attacks span some 900 km, from Feroz Gali to western Iraq near Jahra.
- French armored columns and troops of Americans

advance with heavy armor, overpowered Iraq and captured at Salman guard western flank.

- U.S. airborne forces capture Tallil airbase, then bridgehead across Euphrates River at Nasiriyah, a key crossroad linking southern Iraq and Baghdad. U.S. turn east to help close Iraq's main supply line to Basra.
- U.S. Army VII Corps, the most powerful coalition army, drives north on broad front with British armored divisions, which cut into Kuwait and southwest to fight Republican Guard units.
- Egyptian, Syrian and Gulf Arab forces attack Iraq, desert fortifications in southwest Kuwait, swing east toward Kuwait City.
- Two land-based U.S. marine divisions breach Iraqi defenses, capture Kuwait City airport after tank battle, block escape route north.
- Saudi army advances along coastal highway to Kuwait City, where Kuwaiti resistance forces had already captured some of retreating Iraqi troops.

# A DEADLY RUSE

## HOW THE ALLIES DEFEATED IRAQ



Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf called it the "Hail Mary play," although the football term usually refers to a desperation pass by a losing team as the dying seconds of a game.

Schwarzkopf, commander of the Persian Gulf coalition forces, now ardently disavows not looking at the words clear last week in a transcript briefing in the Saudi Arabian capital of Riyadh. Schwarzkopf said that once a relentless bombing campaign had destroyed the enemy's air force—"we took out his ability to see what we were doing down here in Saudi Arabia"—he shifted much of his offensive war from the air to the ground. On the Saudi-Saudi Arabian border to the left, outflanking the immobile defenses, Schwarzkopf, who played on West Point's 1953 football team, did not say when that maneuver took place, or how long it lasted. But with Iraqi defenders expecting an amphibious assault from the coast and a coalition thrust north, the allied force drove up their backs and took them by surprise last week.

The ground offensive began at about 4 a.m. on Feb. 24. As the forces expected, coalition troops attacked across the Saudi-Riyadh border. Egyptian, Syrian, Gulf Arab, American and Saudi forces pushed through the so-called Saddam Line of high sand berms, land mines and oil-filled trenches, heading towards Kuwait City. At the same time, U.S. helicopters and 17,000 marines in the Persian Gulf who had been conducting amphibious exercises—will report by the end of the week on an attack on the Kuwaiti coast. And there was Schwarzkopf's well-known "Hail Mary play": American and British forces, with the French guarding their left flank, advanced on Iraq positions from the west. Some of these forces executed Iraq's football forces in Kuwait. Others thrust north to the Euphrates

River to cut off any retreat by Iraq's elite Republican Guard.

Approaching Basra in the east, allied forces encountered the only heavy Iraqi resistance. In what Pentagon officials described as the largest U.S. tank battle since the Second World War, the Americans lost more than 470 M1A1 tanks, aided by artillery and aerial bombardment, against about 200 of the Guard's T-72 tanks. As the fighting was winding down last



A burning Iraqi tank, Schwarzkopf (below) the "Hail Mary play" and a decisive victory

Wednesday night, just 500 hours into the ground war, President George Bush declared that "Iraq is a ray of defeated" and announced a conditional ceasefire.

**Gaffer:** Western journalists at Kuwait last week saw some of the devastating effects of the allied assault. On the enemy's main road north, which Iraq troops clung to in a desperate retreat towards Basra, allied high-explosive and cluster bombs had reduced thousands of trucks and cars to twisted twisted metal. Along a five-kilometer stretch of the highway west of Kuwait City, severely damaged tanks and armored vehicles lay abandoned, while bodies of wounded and charred Iraqi were strewn around the road. One eyewitness described the scene as "a slaughterhouse."

Throughout the campaign, allied casualties were meticulously low

Since we broke out on Jan. 17, according to U.S. accounts the 675,000-strong coalition of air, land and naval forces suffered only 148 dead in combat.

By contrast, the Iraqi force, placed at about 540,000 by coalition commanders, suffered devastating losses. Although U.S. military officials declined to estimate enemy casualties, Saudi officials said that between 85,000 and 100,000 Iraqis were killed or wounded. As many as 375,000 surrendered, while the rest either retreated under fire or deserted earlier. Meanwhile, U.S. officials claimed that the Iraq war machine, the largest in the world, had been almost completely destroyed. The allies said that they captured or destroyed 4,000 of Iraq's 4,200 tanks on the battlefield, two-thirds of its 3,100 artillery guns and 3,600 of its 2,700 armored troop carriers.

Despite Baghdad's humiliating defeat, military analysts say that Iraq still has a sizable arsenal. They estimate that there are as many

as 200,000 soldiers inside Iraq, 3,000 tanks, 4,000 other armored fighting vehicles, 2,000 pieces of artillery, hundreds of tons of chemical agents and at least 100 Soviet missiles. About 150 Iraqi warplanes fled to neutral Iran, but Iraq still has about 200 combat aircraft out of an original force of up to 800.

Hussein's remaining arsenal did not appear to worry Schwarzkopf. "There's not enough left for him to be a regional threat," declared the general, adding positively. "His only scenario is to wait until the future." Clearly, Schwarzkopf could not resist telling his keyless opponent one last time. Asked to assess Hussein's military leadership, the general replied: "He is neither a strategist, nor is he schooled in the operational art, nor is he a tactician, nor is he a general, nor is he a soldier." Other than that, and Schwarzkopf's unconditional "he is a great military man." The football term is "punting as a..."



GEN. SCHWARZKOPF



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# JOY AMONG THE RUINS

## LIBERATED KUWAITIS FACE THE FUTURE



In a quiet, shaded quarter of Kuwait City, the center of Emir Sheikh Jaber al-Ahmad al-Sabah's royal regime lay in 19th-century ruins before his rule.

Discrete Palace had been his residence, a deliberately modest compound of grandiose neo-otoman buildings and ironed-steel domes. The grounds were home for his family and their pets, as well as a place where Kuwait could perform the center for lovers. But the Kuwait itself, Discrete Palace has been razed by Iraq's 200-day occupation. A telephone directory and scattered family photos were all that remained in al-Sabah's library last winter. The palace had been stripped of jewels, silver and furnishings. Furnishings between rooms that reeked of urine were filled with slow-burning garbage used potentially lethal by the occasional protesting lord here. The body of the emir's Persian cat lay crushed against a wall. Surveying the scene, guide Basim al-Darwish, 31, said: "Misery." "This is the end of Iraq," they all cried.

**Baring:** In the streets of Kuwait City two days after Iraqi troops plunged triumphantly into the liberated capital, exuberant Kuwaitis continued to celebrate by blowing out balloons and firing automatic weapons into the air. The sounds of joy mixed with explosions as soldiers decorated some of the countless ornate and modern buildings in the city. In their first hours of freedom, Kuwaitis had emerged from hiding with the guarded, uncertain air of prisoners awaiting late incarceration. They found that at the first week of occupation, Iraqi soldiers had attempted to search the city. Government buildings, including the first police, and international hotels showed signs of damage from fire and grenades. Flashes from hundreds of cell walls in the nights, while their hallway search blackened the days.

But the war's own legacy may ultimately be the farthest sold in this tiny coastal country, whose people must deal with hatreds and distrusts implanted in the hearts of Kuwaitis. Many Kuwaitis also have deep-seated, unanswered questions about the fate of friends and family. They say that as the allied armies closed in on the city, Iraqi soldiers ordered Kuwaitis to disappear on Feb. 22, and international hotels showed signs of damage. Some Kuwaitis mention that the Iraqis took them as hostages during their flight. And almost all residents of the capital were eager to describe the "unacceptable acts" referred to by Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf. They said rarely since

the fall of structures suffered by friends or family. "We have lived since the end of a very great terror," said Ahmed Sader, a 53-year-old Kuwaiti of Lebanese origin. "Many families are living as orphans for sons and daughters lost."

To those touched directly by Iraqi terror, there was little consolation in the liberation of Kuwait. Muhammad Habib, 54, says he described how Iraqi soldiers returned his 2-year-old son, Abdul Aziz, after a two-week

he army were often polite and sympathetic, said the Kuwaitis, the secret police conducted a constant, vicious campaign to put out resistance fighters. They repeatedly searched houses for hidden weapons. They also targeted Kuwaitis who possessed cameras, photocopies and fax machines, items that could be used to get information out of the country. According to witnesses, the Iraqi troops captured rudely often shooting them in



The damaged Sief Palace in Kuwait City: Iraqi soldiers tried to torch the city

interrogation, only to shoot him in the back of the head on the doorway of his house. "I was George Bush," his father said quietly. "But he should call me Bush." Other Kuwaitis opened morgues in reports to show evidence of the invaders' heinous bodies of Kuwaitis and women with burned or severed limbs, slashed throats and ganged-up eyes.

The extent of the violence is still unknown. Some Kuwaitis said that allied forces had perpetrated atrocities in order to demoralize the Iraqis. Some Kuwaitis said that the Iraqis' campaign of terror all but won the war. Kuwaitis said that many of the horrors and beatings were carried out under the orders of senior police within the Iraqi military. Although regular soldiers in the so-called pub-

licans of their families or dumping their bodies on doorsteps as a graphic warning. Ebrahim Bushkhaman said that he had buried a 25-year-old engineer who had been shot in the head after four months of detention. "He had blood coming out of his ears," said Bushkhaman, his lower lip quivering. "The punishment had changed the shape of his face."

Other Kuwaitis told stories of more indiscriminate violence. They said that soldiers had killed young boys for simply spraying anti-Saddam Hussein slogans on buildings. Guards at checkpoints watched for violators of martial laws requiring residents to turn in their Kuwaiti passports and change car license plates to Iraq registration. Some Kuwaitis said that they stayed off the streets for fear that the

Iraqis would trump up charges against them. Had Ahmad al-Jaber, 24, an 18-year-old four friends along a downtown boulevard to join a celebratory parade. "Just last week, driving here could have been suicide."

After the liberation, some Kuwaitis admitted that the terror had stifled opposition in the final months. "The resistance was successful in a certain level," said Khalid al-Sader, 24, a young Kuwaiti air force major who joined a wide network of anti-regime civil groups. "But there were problems between the groups, and the government's attitude did little for the resistance." And al-Sader so knowledgeable that some Kuwaitis had collaborated with the Iraqis. "For the honest, and if most he said that there were good people and bad people in both sides," he said.

The legacy of those divisions is a deep bitterness and mistrust among Kuwaitis themselves. No ethnic group greeted the liberation with more uncertainty than Kuwait's Palestinian population, 10th chairman Yasser Arafat's support for Iraq's invasion of Kuwait brought a flood of Palestinian refugees into the country. And since last August, the only students allowed to attend school were

Iraqis and Palestinians. As a result, many Palestinians said that they fear discrimination from Kuwaitis now that the war has ended. "Most Palestinians here feel sad because they believed his [Iraq's] that he would bring back Palestine," said Ebrahim Bushkhaman, 25, as he strode along a residential commercial street in an unpopulated neighborhood of Kuwait City. "But Arafat should have stayed outside this game."

Some Kuwaitis said that many Palestinians had used their immunity from suspicion to smuggle food, money and guns to cheer during the occupation. But, said Bushkhaman, "Many Kuwaitis think the Palestinians were not loyal to us and they are breaking them." That violence has already surfaced. Said Kuwait air force Maj. al-Sader: "I am sorry to say that, but I saw a Kuwaiti guard hit and shoot him right in front of his cousin."

Those tensions may worsen now world attention shifts from Kuwait and thousands of exiles return home. For now, Kuwaiti officials have asked their citizens abroad to return,



Carnage on Bnein highway: Kuwaiti women celebrate liberation (below); hatreds and divisions

at least until basic services are restored later this month. But then, the journey home will be difficult. Roads into Kuwait last week were clogged with convoys bringing food, water and medicine from Saudi Arabia. Traffic flowed slowly along a coastal highway that Iraqi troops had dug up and lined with mines as a defensive tactic. Kuwaiti police, all movement was slowed by

light. Looking over the patch-black skyline from the rooftop of a hotel where Iraqi anti-aircraft artillery emplacements once stood, a visitor could see 18 miles.

Only a few American troops were visible in Kuwait City, most of whom were seen sleeping in front of the newly occupied U.S. Embassy. Not for long, a small force of Canadian forces guarded the occupied Kuwaiti Embassy. By design, Arab troops had led the way into Kuwait City on Feb. 27, followed by U.S. marines. Two days later, Iraqi convoys of armaments were withdrawing to Saudi Arabia. Leaving the Arab forces to keep the peace—and seek up the salaries of grateful Kuwaitis.



Now, but the country's devastated infrastructure will mean a slow recovery. More vital, the Iraqis may have left a formula for intercommunal violence in their wake, an angry and abused population, seeking retribution and crying about the collapse of the capital state late one night last week got a message from those tensions. Those Kuwaitis men in a car scorching up beside him and demanded to know if he was a Palestinian. They took changed when the visitor admitted that he was a Canadian. "Sorry," one of them said. "We are looking for Palestinians and Iraqis." It was a gesture of the anger and violence that is creeping with joy in the wake of war.

BRUCE WALLACE in Kuwait City

# THE SPOILS OF PEACE

## CANADIANS JOIN THE REBUILDING JOB



James Metcalfe left his office in Markham, Ont., in good spirits last July 26. After 28 years spent cultivating business contacts throughout the Middle East, his engineering consulting firm, Casaubon Group Ltd., had just won a contract to participate in a \$150-million reconstruction of the Arzaya sewage treatment plant in Kuwait City. But on Aug. 4, Saddam Hussein's tanks rolled into Kuwait, and although the contract arrived in the mail at Casaubon's headquarters a few days later, the project clearly had become another victim of Hussein's invasion. Last week, however, Metcalfe and his Kuwait officials told him that the Arzaya project will proceed as planned. He added that he hopes to win new contracts now that the international effort to rebuild Kuwait, estimated to cost as much as \$115 billion, is under way. "For a long time, even our Kuwait contacts had no idea what was going on," said Metcalfe. "But now, they are ready to go back into the country. There may even be some new business ahead."

The race to grab in on the massive reconstruction effort started almost a month after U.S.-led forces pushed the Iraqi army out of Kuwait. Analysts predicted that U.S.-based companies will be awarded with the lion's share of the postwar contracts, with British and German firms also doing well. Meanwhile, several Canadian firms are also in the bidding, but experts say that they face substantial obstacles. For one thing, there is little history of trade between the two nations—Canada's exports to Kuwait totalled just \$30.7 million in 1989 mostly lumber and auto parts, while imports were worth \$703,000, mostly electronic equipment. As well, the inherent difficulties in establishing contacts in the region are likely to be compounded in the postwar period. Said Metcalfe: "All of a sudden, everyone is on the highway. But it is a tough market even under more peaceful conditions. It's not a place where you can expect to let and run."

**Damage:** Even before the war ended, U.S.-based contractors had already secured their bases at the front of the rebuilding job. Sixteen weeks of the Iraqi invasion, the United Kingdom government opened an office in Washington to co-ordinate recovery efforts. By Jan. 28, it had awarded U.S.-based firms reconstruction con-



Smoke darkens the Kuwaiti sky; a global effort estimated at \$115 billion

tracts worth a total of \$400 million. Among those is a \$55-million contract to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to assess war damage and supervise the rebuilding effort during the first three months after the war. As well, several large U.S.-based engineering firms, including San Francisco-based Bechtel Group Inc., have already received large reconstruction contracts.

The Kuwaitis' first priority appears to be restoring public services and utilities destroyed by the Iraqis. Already, Prusa, Illinois-based Caterpillar Inc. has sold the Kuwaitis diesel engines that can be used to supply emergency electrical power, while Schenck, Ill.-based Motorola Inc. is shipping the Kuwaitis thousands of portable telephones. Maintaining order also appears to be a priority. Among other firms, the Kuwaiti government has ordered more than \$70 million worth of arms and equipment for police, including helmets, riot shields, prison buses and handcuffs.

As well as repairing broken telephone lines, roads and water pipes, the Kuwaitis are also

attempting to restore their nation's economic life-line system of protection. Last week, Calgary-based Safety Best Ltd. said that it had been retained to help extinguish the hundreds of oil-well fires in the Gulf state. Another Calgary firm, Denco Energy Services, was a \$11-million order to supply two mobile oil-drilling rigs, specially designed for use in the desert. They will be among the first replacements for the 14 drilling rigs that the Kuwaiti government claims were dismantled and shipped to Iraq by occupying troops.

**Orders:** Meanwhile, Oakville, Ont.-based Prusa Corp. will supply a communications switching system valued at as much as \$1.15

million for a temporary air traffic control tower in Kuwait. Said Prusa vice-president David Mills: "We look at this as the first of other orders to go into that area."

Several Canadian firms also are trying to land contracts to participate in long-term reconstruction and industrial projects. Agri-Industries Ltd. of Saskatoon, for instance, has negotiated both with the Kuwait Emergency Recovery Program in Washington and with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers as a potential consultant in oil-spill cleanup. The engineering and construction firm is also bidding its ability to reconstruct harbours, pipelines and storage tanks. Said Agri group vice-president Willem Puzos: "It's not in order to proceed, but we've had experience in Kuwait before and familiarity helps enormously." Given the huge resources of their U.S. competitors, however, many Canadian companies may discover that familiarity with the customer is not enough.

**JOHN DACE with DEBORAH McINTOSH in Toronto**

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Pro-Iraq demonstrators in Amman: a "fearlessness that is almost sickly"

## A BITTER MOOD IN JORDAN

### PALESTINIANS CLAIM A MORAL VICTORY

Defiant chants of "Mala khal, Paleshtin" (Hail, hail, Palestine) echoed across the Jordanian capital of Amman last week as joy-motivated Iraqis, President Saddam Hussein blasted from their loudspeakers. Thousands of Jordanians scored V-for-victory signs to celebrate what they said was Hussein's valiant stand against the U.S.-led coalition in the Persian Gulf War. By taking his enemies of Kuwait to Hussein's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, Hussein had won the allegiance of many Palestinians. And despite the coalition's crushing military victory over Iraq forces, many Palestinians cheered last week that Hussein had not been defeated. "Saddam Hussein is a hero," said 43-year-old Fatah, who asked that her last name not be used. "For the first time, we have a leader who stands up and fights. He doesn't obey the will of the Americans—he fights for Arab nations to decide their own fate."

Nerfed between Israel and Iraq, with a

population of 3.2 million that is about 68-percent Palestinian, Jordan had struggled valiantly to maintain an official neutrality in the war. But last week, amid reports that the U.S.-led coalition was sending Iraqi troops in their custody from Kuwait, pro-Iraq emotions erupted throughout the capital. Some Jordanians, whose state-run television network ran highly selective accounts of the war, expressed disbelief that Iraq's defeat had been crushing and complete. Other Jordanians condemned what they called the deliberate destruction of Iraq—and claimed a moral victory. The Iraqi army had withdrawn 45 days of aerial bombardment by a formidable 23-member coalition, including Coalition. Then, many Jordanians said, the Iraqis had stood their ground against the often better-trained and -equipped armies to fight a four-day land battle. Said Hanna Nazzari, the exiled president of the West Bank's Bir Zeit University: "Defying the West by itself is

considered to be a great act. The Americans were not coming here to liberate Kuwait but to destroy the military power of Iraq—we stood against that destruction."

In the rubble-strewn streets of the Beqaa refugee camp 25 km east of Amman, deluged at the coating of Iraqi troops turned to anger and despair. Said 58-year-old revolutionary Saddam Hussein: "We hoped the Saddam Hussein revolution would change our life and our future." Now, some moderate Palestinians express doubt that the Palestine Liberation Organization's open support for Iraq had cost them not only financial support from wealthy Gulf states, but also known political backing for a quick and fair resolution of the Palestinian problem. Said Hussein Abu Alwa, an activist in Beqaa: "We have lost the political will and the force to support Palestine." Nazzari sat in his office in Amman poring over details of his family's shattered lands in Israel and observed: "We will go through a period of hell."

That hell could soon turn into a rising tide of anti-Western sentiment in Jordan. "There will be a tremendous anti-American backlash," said Kamil Abu-Jaber, head of Amman's Middle East Studies Institute. And some Palestinian leaders and their war and Iraq's military defeat, had heightened passions for Islam and Arab nationalism in parts of the Arab world. Said Hani Khouri, a widely respected Palestinian-Jordanian political analyst: "There is a dejection and bitterness that is almost suicidal and generates the Arab world." Khouri said that after the shock and depression of the Gulf War fiasco, that fighting spirit will spark a new conflict. "It is Arabs against an Israeli-U.S. coalition," he added. "This is the battle that will continue."

Shawling Khouri seemed the West of glazing over a military success while studiously ignoring the political undercurrents that had led Iraq to face the world in a little battle. Among the fundamental issues that must be addressed, many Jordanians said, is the unequal distribution of wealth between such oil-rich states as Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, and poorer Arab nations, including Jordan. They also expressed resentment at the West's failure to act against Israel's 23-year occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. That issue, they said, would remain in the past unless the Palestinians have their own homeland.

The roots of that antipathy were evident at the Beqaa camp last week. Under a heavy downpour that sent most of water cascading down the muddy streets, Abdul Karim, 23, seemed that other Palestinians would take up the fight to free the Israeli-occupied territories. "If Saddam is defeated," he said, "there are millions of other Syrians. All of us are Syrians." Added 61-year-old Amman Bedouin: "Our children are born as the most 'Palestinian.' Before they cry 'yassa,' they will cry 'Palestine'." That is a cry that seemed destined to follow a further long after the military battle was over.

BILLY MACKENZIE in Amman

# MISSION ACCOMPLISHED

## THE DESERT CATS ARE HOMEWARD BOUND



My, William Ryan says that he will long remember the Brazilian splendor at 30,000 feet down the Persian Gulf, watching the snow-capped mountains of Iran catch the first rays of the rising sun. Capt. Jeff Beckert will carry the memory of deserted Iraqi military airfields which offered neither targets nor challenges. Master Cpl. Thomas Hermann will return to his home in Germany still wondering what happened to the only bag of clothing ever lost in his shift at the laundry unit. But for Col. Dennis Matthews, commander of the 750 Canadian CF-18 fighter pilots and support troops stationed in the emirate of Qatar since last October, the conflict in the Gulf War seemed like a distant memory, not a reflection. "I never look back," said Matthews. "The fun's all ahead."

**Stories:** For the first Canadians to go to war in more than 60 years, they spent last week with the slightest prospect of going home to tell stories of bombing missions over Iraq and Kuwait, of sunburn and snowmelt, of dusty headlines on the ground and apprehensions at the sight of brief messages that left hurriedly in the desert or into the sea. Troops left their gear made in their quarters for the first time since mid-January, shipped for Niagara in gold jewelry in Dubai. Capt. Gert's car, or part based in the 25° C sunshine. Some began packing or played volleyball on a makeshift court in the support base called Canada Bay.

They flew, eight kilometers east of Doha. At the airbase two kilometers from Canada Bay, Canadian, American and French fighter planes were parked in neat rows. For the first time since last October, the only jets themselves over Qatar belonged to commercial airlines. "For the 36 Canadian pilots who flew 36 bombing sorties during the week's 100-hour ground war, there was time to talk of missions and casualty. "We had trouble sleeping most of the week," said Ryan, 37, of Greenwood N.B.,

a fighter pilot for 12 years. "We were probably a little anxious approaching the border into Iraq's country, but once we were across, we were too busy. But there was always a sigh of relief when we left." Relief was a common emotion among the pilots. Said Capt. Gerard McKinnon of Windsor, Ont.: "I was really happy to be given the chance to do this sort of thing. But when you have been in the airplane for anywhere from two to four hours, you're anxious to get your feet back on the ground."

In all, the CF-18s dropped 15 tons of high

whether that is right, wrong or otherwise."

From last Oct. 4 until the aftermath of Jan. 27, the CF-18s flew combat air patrols north up the Persian Gulf to attack Canadian and other coalition warships. When the war started, they began flying sweep and escort missions as well, covering other allied aircraft that were attacking targets in Iraq and on the Persian Gulf. But the first shots that Canadians fired were actually on a Gulf patrol pilot's May 1990. David Kneidel and Capt. Steve Hill strided in Iraq's heat. Beckert, who took part in the first

sweep and escort mission and the first air-to-ground attack, and that the Canadians never encountered an Iraqi fighter. "It's perfectly honest," he said, "there is some degree of disappointment that the Iraqis didn't give us the chance to test ourselves." Said Ryan: "Maybe it would have been nice to have that challenge. But it's also nice to come back alive every day."

**Shit:** The funniest of the two pilots was at the Gold Lake, Alta., airbase (page 32). The slight, sandy-haired Ryan and that although he had wanted to go skiing when he got home, his wife, Kathleen, "appears to have had enough of the cold weather. So I guess we're going to take the kids and head down to Deerfield—that's the plan, so I've been told." Beckert and that he and his wife, Lisa, would "drive to the mountains for three or four days—some place that's not flat."

That eagerness to get home would also extend among the groundcrew and support troops of the Canadian

airfield, an airbase technician, an watching a cribbage game in a recreation shack and said "What I miss most, besides my wife, is the freedom of being on your own—your own car, your own time schedule, your own refrigerator. And I miss the harbor." At Canada Bay One, the laundry unit's Hercules, of Courtney, B.C., said that his daughter was born at the Canadian Forces base in Qatar "just before I took off." Hermann, 38, his help to support the handling of 220 bags of laundry and 120



Canadian groundcrew refueling a CF-18; soldiers on guard duty (below): bombing missions, sunburn and snowmelt

about a day for the past six weeks. "We only lost one bag and it's a mystery to me where it went," he said. Capt. Diane Whitley of Cambridge, Ont., a 38-year-old physician, said that what she would miss the least was "getting stranded up in the middle of the night by another aircraft wing."

There were a lot of sleepless nights. Iraqi missiles launched towards Dhahran in eastern Saudi Arabia set off more than two dozen air-attack warnings at Canada Bay One and the neighboring airbase during the first three weeks of the war. Then, at 1:30 a.m. on Feb. 26, some five hours after a Saudi attack on a barracks near Dhahran killed 28 Americans, the terms sounded again—and this time, Qatar was the target. One Scud flew 40 kilometers north in the desert 40 km north of Doha, and a second landed over the city to land in the Gulf.

Not surprisingly, the Canadians took every opportunity to relax after President George Bush had announced the end of hostilities in the Gulf. On Friday night, the Canadians threw a party for the pilots of the U.S. air force F-16s, with whom they had shared the airbase, and for various other Westerners. Canadians living in Qatar, local diplomatic personnel and air company officials. Although alcohol is strictly forbidden in Muslim Qatar, some Islamic mosques and other religious can obtain private licenses from the government. The Canadians obtained their license through the British Embassy, and the

beer, flown in from Germany, flowed freely. Barker Frisby, Lt. Col. Donald Matthews of Calgary, commander of the CF-18 squadron, met reporters to review the four-month mission. Said Matthews: "Every time our planes took off, I said a little prayer. And every time

Matthews and other pilots openly discussed published reports in Canada that took note of some public opposition to their role in the Gulf War. Said Matthews: "We had letters and messages of encouragement from all kinds of people—veterans, in other words, church groups, police departments, even in employment agency." Beckert added: "I'm incredibly proud of the way the Canadian people have rallied behind us. There was simple evidence to support them: the walls of the barracks at the flight base were covered with valentines, crayon drawings, letters or children's messages and other messages bearing words of support."



they came back, I said another one because there were people out there trying to kill us." His pilots, he said, frequently had to take evasive action when their radar warned that Iraqi surface-to-air missiles and anti-aircraft systems were tracking their planes. During the week, Matthews said, allied ground forces had moved so rapidly that they had often overrun targets by the time the 1,800-mile-a-hour Canadian fighters had reached them. In those cases, the pilots had to seek out secondary targets.

**Resale:** For Lakeland, sending the fighters and the support crew back to bases in Germany and Canada may very well be the easiest part of the withdrawal operation. His biggest task will be to decide how to dispose of the predestined living quarters, the portable trailers and tons of equipment and furnishings. Lt. Col. Dennis Roberts of St. Catharines, Ont., Lakeland's deputy commander, said that the Qatar military had expressed an interest in buying everything, including the sandbagged weapons bunkers used by the 150mm Royal 22nd Regiment security force that guarded Canada Bay One and the airbase flight line. But the latter offer, he said, was not for sale.

RAE CORRELL in Doha

# WHAT THE WAR DID FOR CANADA

## A MODEST ROLE, MINOR BENEFITS



In the first hours of the Middle East conflict, Canada's military leaders could take comfort from one fact: for the first time in the country's history, Canada had fought in a war and had not suffered a single casualty. But behind that fact lay a more ominous observation: Canada's military was not sufficiently equipped to play a major role in modern warfare—and its allies in the coalition knew it. Aside from Canada's crack CF-18 Desert Fox fighter squadron, which dispatched only by firing not more than 2,700 missiles during the war to liberate Kuwait, Canada's units in the Persian Gulf had more in common with the Third World due they did with the First. Indeed, the three Canadian naval ships in the Gulf—within combined age of 70 years—were outfitted with weaponry cannibalized from half-completed and incomplete replacement frigates, the first of which, *HMCS Halifax*, is still undergoing sea trials. Said Vice-Admiral Robert George, commander of Maritime Command in Halifax: "The Canadian navy got off by the skin of its teeth." Added Quebec defence minister and author Tony Gorman: "Our forces were marginalised. But the level of our contributions was substantial."

Order: Amid the accolades to the 3,200 Canadian military personnel in the Gulf last week were stirrings of a familiar debate in Ottawa. In the coming months, analysts say, Canada must decide what place it seeks in U.S. President George Bush's "new world order"—and how much the country is prepared to pay for it. Confronted by more than a decade of conflicts, senior military officials appeared resigned to the message of continued restraint contained in the Feb. 28 federal budget. At the same time, military experts say that the lack of a clear defence policy hampers the department of national defence's ability to live up to the demands of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney during the Gulf War that Canada is a staunch defender of the 191 mandate to maintain collective security. That concern will be weighed by the cabinet in the weeks ahead, as it considers the conclusions of no longer reviews of defence policy that is already under way. "Canada does not want to be in a isolated island in terms of collective security," Defence Minister Wilton McKnight told *Maclean's* last

week. "But neither are we a superpower."

Meanwhile, critics question whether Ottawa can succeed in preserving Canada's traditional post-second world war role as an international peacekeeper. To that end, External Affairs Minister Joe Clark is travelling to the Gulf this week, after meetings at the United Nations last week, to offer Canadian perspectives on a Middle East peacekeeping mission. But, for the first time since the Korean War in the 1950s, it is not certain that Canada is around a role. Many states in the region consider Canada a protagonist in the Gulf War—rather than an acceptable neutral—after Canadian ships engaged in more than 50 offensive bombing strikes against Iraq during the war's last week. "In the aftermath of the Gulf," said David Munro, a former vice-chief of the defence staff, "Canada has become aware of the back of its in the world order."

Still, some analysts suggest that Canada may generate other benefits from the goodwill fostered among coalition members. In particular, Canadian trade officials point to the bilateral talks under way among the United States, Mexico and Canada. Predicted Richard Belton, a Canadian expert with the Washington-based National Planning Association, an independent think-tank that coordinates trade issues with the U.S.: "Canada's needs, opinions and concerns in the negotiations with Mexico will be listened to much more than you might have thought." According to a senior White House official, similar consultations between Bush and Mulroney—always cordial—are now better than ever. Said the official: "There is a pro-Canada mood, a willingness to make an extra effort to please."

By many accounts, Canada's military has also won a significant victory at home—and not only as a result of its performance in the Gulf. During the past year, it has captured the attention of a public normally indifferent to national defence, and the respect of a cabinet that dabbles spending money on military hardware.

Before its exploits in the Gulf, the Canadian military had already gained new legitimacy with its disciplined handling of the armed stand-off between government authorities and Mohawk Indians at Oka. One, Joe Clark, in fact, some defence analysts noted privately that the military actions at Oka and in the Gulf were the only broadly popular increases enjoyed by the government in an otherwise difficult year.

Despite the post-conflict euphoria, however, the government made it clear last week that it would not be diverted from its priority of wrestling with Canada's economic problems. In keeping with a 1989 budget plan to cut \$2.7 billion from defence spending over a five-year period, Prime Minister Michael Wilson made only the most grudging allowance for the cost of war in his budget speech. Wilson offered the military a surprise, \$600-million infusion of cash—and a five-per-cent hike in defence spending for 1991-1992 that will bring the department's total outlay to \$12.8 billion, that the largest since the 1980s. For one thing, say portions of the \$600-million cash injection that is not absorbed by the direct costs of the war but is returned to the government's central coffers. As well, Wilson's own targeted inflation rate for 1991 of five per cent promises to ease some of the planned increase in the military's regular budget. "I don't think," Wilson said, "we're off to a high level of defence spending while we tackle the deficit."

Still, it was a familiar problem on Parliament Hill. Canadian governments have grappled for more than three decades with the problem of establishing military budgets appropriate to Canada's needs and status. Consequently, Prime Minister John Diefenbaker set the pattern with his 1959 decision to stop production of the advanced Avro Arrow jet fighter, a shock from which the country's military planners have never fully recovered. Exact figures are placed between 1975 and 1985 for 12 frigates and 158 CF-18 fighter jets at a combined estimated cost of \$1.4 billion—defence has less room in federal spending priorities. The frigates, meanwhile, are 15 months behind schedule and lost by legal disputes among the shipbuilding com-



*Term Nova, Protecteur and Athabaskan in the Gulf, a combined age of 70 years*

panies contracted to build them. In poll after poll, meanwhile, Canadian voters have repeatedly expressed their preference for investment in social programs at home over military might on the world stage.

As a result, few military experts expect the admirable performance by Canadian soldiers in the Gulf War to reap long-lasting rewards in the Gulf, since defence department officials predict that further cuts to personnel and military installments will likely follow the release later this spring of the first defence review since the semi-annual 1987 white paper (which cut out

the country's security needs in a staunchly Cold War framework). The review, a road map for Canadian defence needs for the next 15 years, is expected to shift the emphasis from preparation for all-out war to a lighter and more mobile force. By focusing on territorial defence and contingency operations at home, the defence department is clearly hoping to meet the public's demand for a scaled-back Cold War peace dividend while living within Ottawa's financial constraints.

That prospect has angered some defence specialists, who say that further degradation of

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### 'THE SECOND BEST DAY OF MY LIFE'

For Karen MacKinnon, it was "the second best day of my life"—second only to the moment when she and her husband, George, then a pilot-in-training, were married. Her latest celebration began on Wednesday night, as she sat alone in the living room of the couple's three-bedroom bungalow in Cold Lake, Alta., watching the televised announcement about the ceasefire in the Gulf War. Then, things got even better for Karen, 27, when her husband, a CF-18 pilot, landed with Canada's *Avro Arrow* in Qatar, telephoned unexpectedly. "He called two minutes after *Forward* host announced a ceasefire," Karen MacKinnon told *Maclean's*. "I gave him the news. He hadn't heard." Her husband was delighted, although he had suspected that something

was imminent. "They woke him up to tell him to stay in bed because that day's mission had been cancelled," she said.

Nowhere in the country was more at the forefront of Canadian cheering in the Gulf. Tuesday, Feb. 26, of George Ryan, N.S., his cut was his husband. Karen, a navy aviator, since Aug. 24, when he left for the region aboard the *Avro Arrow*. She told *Maclean's*: "This is the longest we have ever been separated." Looking forward to their reunion, Lily said: "There are butterflies in my stomach. I'm already planning what I will wear. It is just a first date."

While there remained uncertainty about exactly when Canada's forces in the Gulf would be coming home—likely no sooner than mid-March for most of them—the war's moments of recovery were clearly over. Martin Kendall, 42, the radio of Cold Lake CF-18 pilot May David Reilly, said: "I am glad it was over, with the least amount of suffering for the alien. One

Canada's military may have long-lasting effects on the country's ability to sustain peace—or wage another war. Said Alex Morrison, executive director of the Canada Institute of Strategic Studies, an independent Toronto-based defence research organization: "Canada's role is not so much to be a player on the world stage." For his part, Peter Hayden, a military expert with the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies at York University in Halifax, says that the war in the Gulf has shifted the geopolitical focus from three regions between the Great Britain and the Soviet Union. Its regional conflicts occurring around the world, said Hayden: "We could be in for a stormy decade. Will the government continue to deal with the situation in a more or less as usual?"

But, under these conditions, analysts say that Canada's role in the Gulf is a question of an appropriate role for its military—and in particular their role in NATO, where Canada ranks 14th out of 15 nations in the percentage of gross domestic product spent on defence. Although the collective security of the North Atlantic is not expected to be under no direct challenge—particularly in a week in which the one-sided Warsaw Pact formally dissolved its military command—there was no sign from NATO headquarters in Brussels that the Western alliance intended to disband. "The body is expanding that we maintain minimum stocks of war equipment," said John Macnamara, a retired army colonel and editor of the Toronto-based *Canadian Defence Quarterly*. "But we ought to maintain a reasonably well-equipped, small, professional army that could be expanded." That may be a small price to pay for Canada to join the traditional alliance in a new—and swiftly changing—world order.

E. KATE FLEWELL with WILLIAM LAMBERT in Washington, JOHN DUNN in Halifax and NANCY WOOD in Ottawa



*McKnight, defence review*

Arrow jet fighter, a shock from which the country's military planners have never fully recovered. Exact figures are placed between 1975 and 1985 for 12 frigates and 158 CF-18 fighter jets at a combined estimated cost of \$1.4 billion—defence has less room in federal spending priorities. The frigates, meanwhile, are 15 months behind schedule and lost by legal disputes among the shipbuilding com-

ments ago, we faced a financially long war." Agreed Karen MacKinnon: "It has been a difficult time, the most stressful of my life, really life-changing."

In Canada's pilots swelled through their last days in Qatar, their families took in Cold Lake's festive emotions in 28-CF-18 squadrons at the base's annual winter winter carnival, which featured snow-suit races against a backdrop of snow sculptures of *Winter of the Frost* and other cartoon characters. William Ryan, 25, the wife of CF-18 pilot Brian Ryan, for one, predicted that her husband would have some adjusting to do when he returns. "He will need to get used to the climate again," she told *Maclean's*. Despite that, after a change in circumstances, it was just the kind of adjustment that William Ryan from home wanted to make.

GEORGE W. TAYLOR with JOHN DUNN in Calgary and JOHN DUNN in Halifax



Hussein (left) before the war, with Jordan's King Hussein: a popular springing?

# IRAQ AFTER SADDAM

## TWO MAIN GROUPS PLOT THEIR MOVES



For more than 20 years, leaders of security and anti-Communism have kept Saddam Hussein securely in power and safe from assassination. On more

than a dozen occasions, the Iraq president has brutally put down anyone who tried to kill or overthrow him. But after his last week, Hussein's days clearly seemed numbered. In the Tigris River city of Basra on Saturday, according to U.S. intelligence, there was "shooting and burning and civilians took to the streets in protest against Hussein. Earlier, there was an unconfirmed report in the French daily newspaper *Le Monde* that Hussein had applied for asylum in Algeria.

In Washington, President George Bush ordered his hope that the Iraqi people would overthrow Hussein. Still, many analysts said that there was no obvious alternative. Shadi

Khakim, a Middle East scholar at George Mason University in Fairfax, Va., commented, "It is a tragedy that Hussein is left to conduct the problems of reconstruction and reconstruction to the Iraqi people for what he has done."

**Enemies.** The problems were enormous. Experts estimated that the restoration of Iraq's communications, power, water and other essential public services would take years and cost tens of billions of dollars. But after a generation of brutal Arab Baathist Socialist Party rule, the added Iraqi opposition to badly fragmented, without any internal power base. Meanwhile, the American had to find a way to get Iraqis to work together. Any regime backed by Washington was "almost sure to fail," said an administration official who requested anonymity. Under those circumstances, the only alternative to continued rule by Hussein, by other members of his ruling Revolutionary Command Council or by the army seemed to be anarchy. And that, said

many observers, might tempt Iraq's neighbors Turkey and Iran to seize disputed border areas and create new regional instability.

In the past few weeks, two main centers of opposition to Hussein's regime have developed outside Iraq—one in Damascus, the Syrian capital and the other in the Saudi Arabian capital of Riyadh. The Damascus group, backed by Syria and Iran and called itself the Joint Action Committee, appears to be better organized. But it is a shadowy faction of 17 widely disparate parties, including Shiite fundamentalists, Communists, Kurdish nationalists, pan-Arabists and Western-style democrats. They appear mainly to have in common a hatred of Hussein. A rival group backed by Egypt and Saudi Arabia appeared more likely to be less in a Western line. But it appealed to Iraqis as a survivor because it claims largely of wealthy businessmen, exiled army officers and tribal elders.

Recently, the Shiite government itself announced to Iraqi leaders between the Riyadh and Damascus groups. Another attempt could come next week, when representatives of all Iraq opposition forces are scheduled to meet in Beirut to discuss options and tactics. But even if they agree to join forces, analysts note their prospects of success are dim. Said Roushdy Hakeem, a Middle East expert at Britain's Royal United Services Institute. "The problem with all these groups is that there are so many of them and they are all outside the country."

**Upcoming.** Many observers say that the most likely people to overthrow Hussein are his people. Abdullah Jabbar al-Badr, a Kuwaiti student who has traveled to Basra to get food for his family, told the *Financial Times* of London that there had been a popular uprising against Hussein. "The people cheered and shouted, 'Saddam is finished,'" he said. Robert Neumann, a former U.S. ambassador to Saudi Arabia who is now a Middle East expert at Washington's Center for Strategic and International Studies, said that "there is absolutely no way to guess who will emerge from Saddam Hussein, but most likely it will be the military people who gets to kill him." Other analysts speculated that even if the military did take over, they were too discredited to be able to hold on to power for long. They hoped, as editor of the Washington-based *Middle East Report*, said that "the most likely leaders of the Baathist party would be the most absurd to take over." He cautioned, however, that they were likely to be just as despotic and repressive as Hussein, and unlikely to be "freely and forgiving" toward members of the victorious Iraqi army. The army, with most of the military in custody, they could not pose a threat to regional security as the foreseeable future.

Among the possible internal successors noted by Middle East experts.

● **This Youssef Ramadan.** Iraq's first deputy prime minister, who is almost as feared as Hussein himself. He habitually carries a pistol loaded revolver in his belt and has used it against critics of the regime.

● **Hassan Karim al-Majid.** Hussein's cousin and son-in-law. His star has risen at the expense of Ramadan's in the past two years, and Iraq's expert *Al-Basra* of Basra University calls him "the single most important person after Saddam." As minister of industry, he oversaw Iraq's chemical and nuclear weapons programs and, and Karim, "is just as much of a threat as Saddam."

● **Ali Hassan al-Majid.** Another cousin of Hussein's, who is minister of internal security. Said Karim, "All the atrocities committed in Kuwait are his responsibility. He is also the man who authorized the poison gas attack on the Iraqi Kurds in 1988."

● **Bassam Ibrahim.** Saddam Hussein's half brother, who was in charge of internal security until 1984. In that capacity, he allegedly ordered the execution of hundreds of Shiite and Communist members of the opposition. He later became the country's ambassador to the United Nations in Geneva.

● **Saddam Hussein.** Iraq's deputy prime minister. A member of the country's 35-year-old Baath party, he is especially notorious for his ruthlessness toward any of his members of the ruling clique, and he earned a reputation as a brutal enemy of the University of Wisconsin. Said the *Middle East Report*'s Hakeem. "He is quite polished and much more sophisticated

about international affairs than other senior members of the Baathist party."

● **Ferozan Mesheri.** Third son, who speaks fluent English and is a member of Iraq's Christian minority. He has the same kind of polish as Hussein, but he is closely tied to Hussein.

In general, most analysts express little respect for even the more moderate members of



Destruction in Baghdad; rebuilding Iraq is likely to take years

the Revolutionary Command Council. Reviewing the list of possible internal candidates for power in Baghdad, Oren Ben-Gurion of Tel Aviv University's Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies concluded, "They are all corrupt, all little Saddam Hussein."

Whether Hussein is quickly overthrown or hangs on to power for the moment, the Baath administration is clearly determined to prevent Iraq from re-arming. "Using its vast oil res-

ources and financial aid from other Arab countries, including Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, Iraq purchased \$24.2 billion worth of arms from abroad between 1984 and 1988. More than half of that total came from the Soviet Union, which was Iraq's closest ally until the Gulf crisis erupted last August. Baghdad's second-largest arms supplier was France, which sold

the Iraq regime more than \$3.5 billion worth of weapons and missiles over the four-year period. China ranked third, with sales of \$3.2 billion. The U.S. administration, clearly hoping to prevent the resumption of such trade, has announced that it will press for a continuation of the UN arms embargo against Baghdad, an attitude that is supported by Canada.

**Priorities.** In any case, whatever rules postwar Iraq will have, more immediate priorities than re-arming. The country will need every cent of its huge potential oil revenues solely to restore such essential services as light, heat, water, sewage, bridges and basic health care. As well, Kuwait has demanded massive reparations under the terms of UN Security Council resolutions. As a result, it seems unlikely that any government in Baghdad, whether headed by Hussein or not, will be able to reassert Iraqi influence over its neighbors for a long time to come.

**JOHN BIERMAN with ANDREW PINFOLD in London. MALCOLM GRAY in Moscow. ERIC SALTZMAN in Jerusalem. WILLIAM LOWMYER in Washington and MARK MEYER in Toronto.**

## WILL BUSH NOW DUMP QUAYLE?

What a difference a war makes. Last fall, during a barely passed budget debate, President George Bush's popularity plummeted more than 20 points in the poll, and some analysts predicted the end of the three-term Republican dynasty in the White House. All that changed, however, during Bush's high-stakes confrontation with Iraq President Saddam Hussein. And last week, after U.S.-led coalition troops crushed the much-maligned Iraqi army, Bush's popularity rating soared to 81 per cent, his highest since the U.S. resumed its policy history. Even some Democrats, scrambling to develop their unapologetic opposition to the war, now say that Bush could be reelected in the 1992 presidential race. Added Atlanta-based political Cam-

elaine Darden, "Without some extraordinary, recent event, Bush cannot be beaten. The only thing the Democrats can do is bide."

Some observers say that the only mystery left is whether Bush will dump Vice-President Dan Quayle—the 1988 Republican ticket. He is expected to lose enormous pressure to do so. According to a poll released last week, just 23 per cent of voters want Quayle, who is second only



Powell: people's choice

to Saddam Hussein as the best of late-night talk-show jokes, to be Bush's running mate. Half of the respondents said that they would prefer Gen. Colin Powell. The first black to serve as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Powell might eventually replace Second World War commander Gen. Dwight Eisenhower,

who was two presidential elections as the 1950s.

But Powell has never expressed any interest in the job. Quayle himself said last week that "I have no serious wish to leave." And even White House official told *Newsweek* "no conflict of loyalty." "Bush is a great guy for loyalty and the best thing around here is that Quayle will stay." By keeping Quayle as his running mate instead of tapping someone more likely to be a credible bow to the 1992 presidential nomination, Bush could be sending a message to his ambitious hand Secretary of State James Baker, to seek higher office.

**MARY MEYER with WILLIAM LOWMYER in Washington.**

# A BUDGET SQUEEZE

**MICHAEL WILSON  
TRIES TO CUT  
THE DEFICIT BY  
REINING IN THE  
FEDERAL PUBLIC  
SERVICE**

**F**ew of Brian Mulroney's promises in his 1983 Conservative leadership campaign evoked more heartfelt applause from the party's rank and file than his vow to give civil servants "a pick slip and a pair of running shoes." When he took office a year later, the new Prime Minister kept his word by cutting 15,000 public service jobs. Now, midway through his second term, Mulroney and his ministers are renegeing their anti-bag-government campaign in order to rein in federal spending. In last week's federal budget, Finance Minister Michael Wilson announced plans to eliminate as many as 4,000 senior public service jobs, limit government pay increases to three per cent a year for three years and slash the number of senior bureaucrats by 10 per cent. Explained an senior advisor to Wilson, "Let's face it—that too many Canadians are going to spend a year for the public service."

Wilson's expressed determination to reduce both the size and the cost of the federal bureaucracy appeared to set the stage for a prolonged and potentially ugly confrontation with the public servants, who now number 255,000. The president of the country's largest public service union, Daryl Breen, denounced the minister for being "as sadistic as Saddam Hussein" and called on his 176,000 members to stage a general strike later this year. But Breen, president of the Public Service Alliance of Canada, acknowledged

Wilson offering no apologies for his cost-cutting drive



edged in an interview. "I don't expect a whole lot of sympathy out there." He added: "I have led in the public that once they have due facts, they will understand. There is absolutely no fat left in the federal public service—and the government knows that."

Wilson, however, offered no apologies for his cost-cutting drive. In the Commons last week, the finance minister proclaimed that the government's efforts to restrain the size of the public sector would save Ottawa \$1.6 billion in the 1991-1992 fiscal year, which began on April 1. But even with those reductions, the government says, the federal deficit will remain at this year's level of \$36.1 billion. "In the current situation, the government must cut back in all areas of spending, including wages," Wilson said in his budget speech. He added that by slashing the size and scope of the federal government, the Tories hope to increase its efficiency, improve the business climate and strengthen Canada's ability to compete "in a tough economic world."

Wilson's deficit-reducing package included several measures to slash more of the burden of health care, education and social assistance from Ottawa to the provinces. An ongoing cap on transfer payments to the provinces to count those costs will be extended until 1994-1995, for a total savings to the federal treasury, based on projected spending, of \$4.4 billion over five years. In addition, the government chopped \$150 million from cultural programs, \$122 million from noncommercial cleanup projects, \$105 million from job-training programs, \$95 million from aid to businesses and interest groups, and \$32 million from housing for people on low incomes.

Wilson also issued the notice to cut expenditures by \$4 a nation, or three cents a cigarette, and allowed the premiums paid by both workers and companies for unemployment insurance by 34 per cent, effective on July 1. The addi-

tional after-tax cost for someone earning the maximum insurable income of \$36,380 will be \$144.60 a year.

Business leaders in general reacted favorably to Wilson's budget, although many of them said that he should have taken more extreme measures to reduce the deficit. Several organizations, including the Canadian Chamber of Commerce and the Canadian Federation of Independent Business, criticized the government for planning to spend on entry \$3 billion this year in unemployment insurance benefits, \$1.6 billion on aid to the elderly and \$1.3 billion in subsidies to western grain farmers. Said Timothy Reel, the chamber's president: "We believe program spending should have been frozen. This would have brought the deficit down substantially and would allow the Bank of Canada to reduce interest rates more."

Those complaints aside, however, most business leaders praised Wilson for setting two radical agendas for the government: reducing the deficit and reducing inflation. One of those agendas is a proposed three-to-one cut in federal spending increases in each of the next

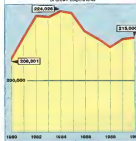
targets—the first time Ottawa has explicitly tried to lower wages and price expectations since the 1982 launch of the Taylor government's "tax-and-freeze" anti-inflation program. Under the Wilson plan, the government has committed itself to lowering the so-called core inflation rate, which includes price increases for food and energy, to five per cent by the end of 1991, then per cent by the end of 1992, 2.5 per cent by mid-1994 and two per cent by the end of 1996. The rate currently stands at an eight-year high of 6.8 per cent.

Finance officials said privately that if the economy failed to meet those targets, the government and the Bank of Canada would intervene by cutting spending further or raising interest rates. Declared one senior bureaucrat: "Our whole thrust is to give people confidence that we are not going to let inflation get out of control."

Indeed, last week's budget, Wilson's seventh since taking office as finance minister, reflected government's approach to managing its fiscal and monetary affairs. In the past, the party in power has tended to loosen its purse strings in advance of each general election, showering voters with new spending projects as an effort to improve its chances for re-election. Mulroney's government adopted that approach in the run-up to the 1988 election in a four-month period, the Tories announced more than 70 federal projects, totalling more than \$8 billion. Many of those initiatives were cancelled or put on hold indefinitely within months of the party's return to office.

## REINING IN THE BUREAUCRACY

Total number of full-time jobs in the federal public service, excluding the RCMP, Canadian Forces personnel and employees of Crown corporations



five years Finance officials say that the new law will be similar to that tougher than the U.S. Gramm-Rudman Act, a 1985 law designed to curb deficit spending by Washington. Ottawa's new law would apply to almost all federal expenditures other than interest payments on the \$38.5-billion national debt. If spending in any one area exceeded the mandatory three-per-cent ceiling, Wilson said the extra money would have to come from reductions elsewhere rather than from increased borrowing or higher taxes.

In an effort to improve business confidence, Wilson also proclaimed a series of inflation

targets, however, some Tories say that the three-year ceilings announced by Wilson will actually reduce the government's advantage. The Conservatives have concluded that economic restraint, rather than damaging their prospects for re-election, may actually be good politics. "Spending money is political death right now," said a senior party strategist whose advice helped to shape last week's budget. "The old ways just don't work anymore. People are conditioned to new governments as inherently selfish and inefficient, so even if we do announce some new public works project to put the country out of recession, it

## Business Notes

### FLYING LOW

Months of docking passenger traffic and higher fuel prices continue to take their toll on Canada's air carriers. Toronto-based Air Canada, for example, last week announced flying into its markets rejected an attempt to construct the company's \$10.5-million debt. Last week, Air Canada reported a 1990 net loss of \$74 million on revenues of \$3.9 billion, compared with a 1989 profit of \$1.9 million. It was noted, the Cdn. Corp., which owns Canadian Airlines International Ltd., reported a 1990 loss of \$14.8 million on revenues of \$2.7 billion.

### BANKRUPTCY SOAR

Statistics Canada reported that personal and business bankruptcies soared by 69 per cent in January compared with the same month a year earlier. Ontario was one of the hardest-hit provinces, with a 345 per cent increase in individual bankruptcies and a 58-per-cent jump in business failures.

### A TENTATIVE DEAL

Maclean Hunter Ltd. of Toronto agreed an agreement in principle to sell its Hamilton television station, CMC-TV, to the Western International Communications Ltd. for approximately \$44 million. Maclean Hunter acquired the station in 1989 as part of a \$205-million purchase of Toronto-based Bell Canada Communications Ltd. The Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, which has twice rejected Maclean Hunter's attempts to sell the station, must still approve the proposed deal.

### PROGRESS AT GAIT

Twelve weeks after they ran aground on the issue of fair subsidies, international trade negotiations resumed in Geneva under the supervision of Arthur Dussan, director general of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, to improve the chances of an agreement. Dussan has reduced the number of items stipulating open to seven from 15.

### LAVALLIN WAITS

Lorain Group Ltd. of Montreal says that, while no reason to believe that the Feb. 23 military pact in Thailand will endanger its \$2.3-billion contract to build an elevated transport system in Bangkok. The rising military pact has shifted two key government officials who had helped negotiate the contract, which was signed a day before the agreement. The pact said that it may reverse all the transportation and communications projects approved by the previous government.

would only be dreamed up waste of money."

By focusing its spending, the Tories also hope to focus the public's attention on the ideological distance between themselves and the opposition. Both the Liberals and the New Democratic Party attacked the budget because it did not offer any new spending programs to help ailing Canadians or to reinstate the recession. Declared **Opposition Leader Audrey McLaughlin**: "The voters are going to be people who need health care, people who want post-secondary education, people who are houseless." Deputy Liberal leader **Stevie Goppa**, meanwhile, said that the budget will compound the prevailing public mood of "division and bitterness." Declared **Goppa**: "Our prescription would have been investment in the public sector, specifically in municipal infrastructure."

In his budget speech, however, Wilson said repeatedly that similar approaches had failed in the past. "One of the key questions to be asked is this: 'How much government are people willing to pay for?'" the minister said. "Our philosophy is that the government is not the provider of money at all times. There are *Real-World* solutions."

According to new social policy adviser, Wilson's remarks were aimed specifically at trying to cast members of the two opposition parties as "defenders of the status quo" who believe that government intervention and higher spending offer a solution to society's economic problems. "The Tories would love to be able to shift the focus of political discussion in this country back to the ground of economic management," the adviser said. "The formula is get the Tories to go back to the economic side of the debate so that it becomes a choice between old ways and new ideas, changing with the times instead of standing still."

Even if that strategy succeeds, however, the Tories will still have to deal with another, potentially more daunting challenge to their traditional western power base: the rise of the Calgary-based Reform party, led by Preston Manning. Although the party currently has only one seat in the Commons, most polls show that Reform has a wide lead over the Tories in the three Prairie provinces. More recently, Manning has voiced a desire to expand the party's organization into Ontario and Eastern Canada, capitalizing on widespread voter dissatisfaction with the three main national parties.

Although the Reform party practices a wide range of traditional conservative views, one of its most popular objectives echoes Mulroney's 1983 leadership promise: a smaller, more limited federal bureaucracy. That may explain why, in an apparent attempt to undermine Reform, the budget specifically targeted public

services for tough treatment. Among other things, Wilson said that the government planned to freeze the operating and capital budgets of government departments except offices, eliminate 475 of the bureaucracy's 4,798 senior managers and limit salary in-



Became a finance minister as *audacious* as *Saddam Hussein*

creases for deputy ministers and heads of Crown corporations to the same percentage paid to unionized employees. He added that every single-percentage-point pay increase for public servants in 1991-1992 would likely result in the elimination of 2,000 jobs.

Although Wilson denied that he was targeting public servants for special treatment, his statements on the bureaucracy clearly left many government workers feeling insecure. "There's going to be an awful lot of bad blood created by this," said Timothy Plamondon, an Ottawa-based consultant on civil service reforms who is currently advising several federal departments on ways to streamline their operations. As part of that process, Plamondon attended a closed meeting late last week with about 160 senior government managers. "There was absolutely no mood with him," he said. "People were looking around, worrying that one out of every 10 people in the room would not be there a year from now."

In fact, some analysts outside government agree with Wilson that the public service is inefficient and over-manned. But they claim that the government's plan for across-the-board pay restrictions and job cuts is not the solution. "I'm not supportive of bureaucrats, but the reality is that federal civil servants re-

ceived the lowest pay increases of any group in the 1980s," said Irene Pa, a senior policy analyst with the Toronto-based C. D. Howe Institute, a conservative think tank. She added that using government employees as bargaining chips to be rewarded, laid off

"If you treat everybody the same, the really good people are just going to get demoralized and quit. Over efficiency will just get worse."

Some analysts said that the reductions and pay ceilings are a sign that the government has turned its back on a much-vaunted objective: to reorganize the public service from within. Known as Public Service 2000, the reform program was launched in December, 1989, by Paul Teller, who is clerk of the Privy Council, as Ottawa's top civil servant. One of its key objectives was to ensure that government employees—from senior bureaucrats to junior clerks—operated as active participants in restructuring the public service in order to cut red tape and improve efficiency. "What I find astounding is that there was not one word in the budget about it in 1990," said Geoffrey Poole, vice-president of the Ottawa-based Public Policy Forum, a nonprofit research group funded by private business. "The message in the budget is extremely blunt. If the government intends to go back to civil-service bashing, why did it waste so much time talking about the need to work together?"

The government may have decided that across-the-board wage freezes and layoffs in the public service are far more likely to win voter approval than specific reductions to government services, such as the controversial 1991 cuts to Van Riel. Bechtel Inc., "the arch-trainly engineering and services, the Tories are failing to come to grips with the fact that governments in the 1990s cannot do everything that Canadians want them to," Plamondon added that the Conservatives were ducking their political responsibilities. "In effect, Wilson is leaving the public service to make the hard choices about where the cuts should be. I mean, what is a government doing about this?" With an election perhaps less than two years away, politics, not just public policy, was undoubtedly a factor in Wilson's thinking.

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#### McLaughlin: help needed



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# Chipping away at the mother of all debts

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

**B**efore he tabled his budget last week, Michael Wilson had the reputation of being the Conservative cabinet's most steadfast if obstinate, well-beat—The Tories with brass. But his latest fiscal accounting significantly raises his stature as a politician, though not as an economic futurist.

Wilson is the first Tory minister to tackle the historic party lead-in and provide a counter-thrust to party leader Preston Manning's contention that Ottawa is populated by free-spending partners who care nothing about controlling federal expenditures and even less about decreasing the national debt. That line of attack has been winning converts across Western Canada and even Ontario for the Manning followers, who portray themselves as a bunch of primly responsible believers in balanced budgeting. They will now find their position much harder to sustain. The Mulroney government has declared war on the Reckoners at last.

Wilson's annual tactic of setting limits on future Ottawa spending at \$115.4 billion plus three per cent annually until 1995-1996 certainly means that this will be his last budget. The pressure on the minister of finance to produce a pre-election budget sprinkled with giveaways this time next year (in the spring of 1993) will be all but insurmountable. At the same time, the measure provides key future finance minister with a handy weapon for deflating the national treasury against vote-buying politicians anxious to find the spending luxury that provides those questionable national accounts known as general elections.

Channeling excess resources from the Goods and Services Tax into the newly created Debt Servicing and Reduction Fund is a long-term tactic, because it provides Canada's long-suffering taxpayers with a rationale for that painful, seven-per-cent levy imposed two months ago. It would have been a lot more brilliant tactic to have announced this lastest destination of GST funds at the height of last

*It's a paradox that if Canada ever becomes solvent again, we could have the world's highest standard of living*

fall's economies debate on the issue. Still, it's the first serious attempt to slow down the spiralling deficit curve which reached its peak with Pierre Trudeau's \$38.3-billion surplus in 1984-1985. For a full decade, our annual deficits have exceeded \$27 billion, so that every year \$3 billion—or more than \$38 billion in total—has had to be raised simply for the wasteful purpose of financing one of the world's heaviest debt loads.

That does not exclude the interest on the national debt itself, which this year will cost us \$43.2 billion. It's a paradox that if Canada ever becomes solvent again, we could have the world's highest standard of living and we could repatriate the economy. Take away the national debt, and this would be the world's healthiest economy, with it, we're a 24th with peller bears.

Solvency is just around the corner, if Michael Wilson is so be believed, and this is where his budget begins to fall apart. Its deliberately biased calculations are based on inflationary projections that are wildly unrealistic. The finance minister predicts that current inflation levels will be cut in half, to three per cent by the end of the next year (whether via food or fiat), with a drop to 2.5 per cent by the middle of 1994 and

to two per cent after 1995. That's demonstrably silly, because no-one can forecast economic trends that precisely into next month, much less four years ahead. (A sample of Wilson's forecasting skill was his budget last year, when he predicted a deficit for 1990-1991 of \$38.5 billion. Last week, he acknowledged that he had missed his target by \$2 billion.)

Besides, the inflation numbers game has revealed the current crop of Tory fiscal planners, and Bank of Canada governor John Crow, at their worst. First, they barely declared that they were about to wrinkle inflation to the ground, with the central bank governor crowing about how he would reduce the rate of growth to zero, or perish in the attempt. He wrangled it hard enough to drive the economy into its first postwar made-in-Canada recession by unilaterally raising interest rates to punitive levels, as much as six percentage points higher than those U.S. equivalents. He eventually did get inflation down to four per cent, despite the hefty 33-per-cent annual inflation increases that he chose to accept as the middle of his violent crusade.

Much like Reuben Hovesen, Crow then declared victory and backed off his worthy objective to make way for the GST. It was officially supposed to raise the inflation rate by just 1.28 percentage points, but the actual impact turned out to be 5.7% points in great. The inflation rate in January increased to 6.6 per cent, the highest level since March, 1983, from five per cent. Now, the same gang, having driven the country into a recession through high interest rates, claim they've just rescued us by lowering them. If you read this paragraph over again, it still won't make any sense, but that, more or less, is what Ottawa has just finished doing.)

Know if you accept Wilson's inflation and interest-rate projections the balance 50-day commercial paper rates will fall to 9.5 per cent this year and continue to plummet to savings per cent after that, it's difficult to swallow his prediction that by 1995-1996 the federal deficit will be down to \$6.5 billion. Out of every dollar spent in his current budget, Wilson is obliged to pay 37 cents for interest on the national debt, 25 cents in direct transfers to taxpayers through various social welfare plans, and another 23 cents in other statutory transfers, covering a range of programs from medicine to research-and-development grants. That leaves only a quarter of total federal spending available for everything else, including national defence and every other government department. That doesn't leave much room for even less for Michael Wilson or any of his successors.

This country's not economic problem is that we have created a social infrastructure we can no longer afford. It costs so much to maintain—and we have become so used to depending on government largesse—that Canada has become a kind of National Film Board, with large. That once heartily creative agency has been so severely wounded by constant financial pressures that it now has to use most of its limited funding merely to continue existing. For Canada and for Canadians, just being there is not enough.

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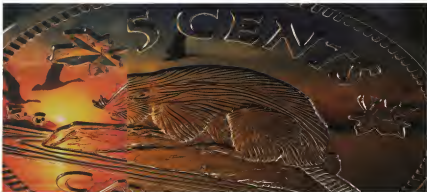
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## PEOPLE

### JOY AND PAIN

Although *Mito* actress Margo Kane has appeared in such celebrated films as *The Black Stallion* and *Pow! Wow Highway*, she says that she is proudest of her latest achievement. In a one-woman show called *Moonbaldie*, currently playing in Vancouver, Kane, 38, explores her own native identity. "I wanted to draw on my direct experience as an Indian living in North America," she said. But Kane stressed that the show's outlook is optimistic. Moonbaldie, she says, is intended to be "healing."

### A COURTROOM CLASS ACTION

Actress Mary Elizabeth Mastrantonio says that working with Gene Hackman in the new courtroom drama *Class Action* was a real pleasure. Said the 32-year-old Mastrantonio, who plays Hackman's daughter in the movie: "I've learned so much from him that when we wrapped, I said, 'I owe you a tuition cheque.' But her substitute for her *Class Action* co-star real mentor is missing. Said Hackman: "I don't think I have ever worked with anyone of her age who has such command of her craft."

Mastrantonio: high praise

### All in the family

For seven years, actor Ramon Estevez watched from the sidelines as his brother, Charlie Sheen and Emilio Estevez, found fame and fortune. But now, 27-year-old Ramon has the biggest role of his career, as a military draftee enlisted in *Cadence*. The movie also stars his brother Charlie, and was directed by their father, Martin Sheen (born Estévez). Ramon plays a corporal who defies his superior (played by director Sheen). Although the film mirrors the close relationship that father and son enjoy in real life, Ramon admitted that working with Sheen was "intimidating." In fact, Ramon said that he had difficulty holding his own against his demanding father: "It was like pushing a boulder up a cliff." Although set in a U.S. army barracks in Germany, *Cadence* was actually filmed last summer in Rancho Conejo, a U.S. Army base in Los Angeles, says that he has only good memories of the picturesque town. "It's beautiful up there," he said. "I love Canada."

Estevez: *Cadence* is his biggest role yet



Reddock: 'a decent individual'

### Main event

It's a true boxing tradition, heavyweight Donovan (Rusky) Reddock and Mike Tyson have begun sparring even before their scheduled elimination clash in Las Vegas on March 18. But their verbal exchanges differ markedly. Reddock, a 37-year-old Jamaican-Canadian, is currently a 34-1 underdog who predicts that he will win—but he does not get personal about it. Tyson, 24, on the other hand, recently scoffed at his opponent, calling Reddock "a gentleman" and "a whole individual." Then, Tyson nastily added about the upcoming fight: "It only counts if I kill him."

DANIEL CHAMBERLAIN



DANIEL CHAMBERLAIN



DANIEL CHAMBERLAIN

### Making lunch into a movie

Author William S. Burroughs, 77, says that Canadian director David Cronenberg may have a "difficult" time adapting his scandalous 1959 novel *Naked Lunch* to the big screen. Still, Burroughs has endorsed the move, which Cronenberg is currently shooting in Toronto. In fact, Burroughs, who is scheduled to go there later this month to promote the movie, once said: "I can't think of anyone that might do a better job."



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## MEDICINE

# Reshaping vision

New techniques can cure shortsightedness

**S**hady Armstrong, a retired Calgary real estate salesman, says that without her glasses, she could not even see her face in a mirror—unless she got her eyes "right up

against it." Then, last December, Armstrong, 68, decided to undergo a risk-free new medical procedure. Dr. Howard Gaislet, a Calgary ophthalmologist, used a laser beam to

reshape the cornea of Armstrong's right eye. Within three days, her right vision was nearly perfect. Now, Armstrong says that the plane to have the vision in her left eye corrected is the same very. Still, despite that success and others, some doctors warn that the new surgery might have unexpected side effects.

Russia and Western Canada and the U.S. Food and Drug Administration are still monitoring the laser-sculpting technique. But the results of operations carried out so far indicate a success rate greater than 90 per cent, with success defined as 20/40 vision or better (the range in which correction by glasses or contact lenses is not considered necessary for driving a car). In theory, the procedure, known as photorefractive keratectomy, means that most shortsighted Canadians, who make up an estimated one-quarter of the population, could have their vision corrected.

So far, only about 100 Canadians have undergone the new laser procedure. But thousands have had their vision corrected by an older form of eye surgery called radial keratotomy, introduced into Canada about 10 years ago by Montreal ophthalmologist Dr. Marvin Kertiss. Radial keratotomy is performed with a diamond scalpel. The purpose of both operations is the same: to reshape the cornea of the eye to induce the curvature that causes light rays to converge too soon, in front of the retina, perfect vision requires that they converge at the retina. One of the advantages of the new laser procedure is that it is less invasive, because the technique does not penetrate the cornea as deeply as radial keratotomy. Still, not all Canadians can afford the operations, which cost between \$1,500 and \$2,000 per eye and which provincial health insurance plans do not cover.

When the new technique was first used in Canada last year, it had a short, public dispute between Gaislet and Kertiss. In a letter to the *Calgary Herald* in December, Kertiss said that it was "ethically irresponsible" of Gaislet to perform the operation before Canadian guidelines had been drawn up. For his part, Gaislet said that he was voluntarily following protocols established in the United States and was reporting his results accurately to the U.S. Food and Drug Administration. Subsequently, Kertiss served on a committee that helped to draw up Canadian guidelines, which will allow a limited number of laser operations to be performed during a period of clinical trials. A Toronto ophthalmologist, Dr. Joseph Weinstock, began performing laser eye surgery in October, and Kertiss said that he plans to install laser-surgery equipment in Montreal later this year.

Calgary's Armstrong said that she was apprehensive before her operation, but Gaislet is he pleased. She said that she looked into the red point of the laser's scanning light. There was a zapping sound, and then it was all over. She now has stable 20/50 vision in her right eye, evidence that the operation may ultimately bring improved vision to thousands of Canadians.

JOHN GAULT

## SPORTS WATCH



# King Midas meets the Argonauts

BY TRENT FRAYNE

**H**ere was this rich, chubby, 40-year-old coin collector and sports cheerleader, Bruce McNall, appearing at long last in the Toronto SkyDome, behind the moon-shaped movie screen John Candy said the "saggy, orange" Wayne Gretzky himself, telling him bags of gerbers of verbs and sports lexicons and about a million television cameras that he liked Canadian football and saw a glowing future for the team he helped launch, the Toronto Argonauts, and for the Canadian Football League itself, and just as he was saying those slurring words, clink! clunk! tumbled an oversized sack-up of Argo pennants that had been tacked to the wall behind Candy's leg, fuzzy head.

Talk about operators. What's this just like the Argonauts and the CFL? At the games, control when something good was finally happening to them, then comes disaster, this very emblem of the poor old Bottomless Bouncer screaming to the floor.

And on the wall where the prop had been tacked, it could now be seen that it had covered a large framed photo of Marlene Dietrich, the costume film star, a full-length horizontal shot of her reclining, her tilted legs sky and exposed provocatively.

John Candy reacted usually to this distraction. "Marlene Dietrich has moved in, I was here earlier-of-factly. 'A silent partner'."

Now here was symbolism. Even as Candy had reacted as embarrassing moment, this notion of new Argonaut owners could conceivably deliver the beleaguered Bats from their recent adversity at the gate. And of course, such filled with behind in the corner, says SkyDome would be bound to reflect positively on the whole league.

What a wily move it was for the astonishing Bruce McNall, the owner of the Los Angeles Kings and other teams, to bring Candy and Gretzky into his fold in this venture, generating costs to purchase 30 per cent of the \$5.75 million he paid former owner Barry Orest for the franchise. Since McNall himself cannot

*What a wily move it was for Bruce McNall to bring in John Candy and Wayne Gretzky to market this new toy—Canadian football*

throw the touchdown passes that might help put the Bats into the top four teams, he has brought in two of Canada's highest-profile celebrities to assist him in the task.

McNall, of course, is the man who sold refrigerators to Kalamazoo by making hockey a subplot sport in southern California. To do that, he paid hungry Peter Fockingham \$18 million for Gretzky, the current annual mascot of the Edmonton Oilers. The deal was a graphic example of how McNall conquers business by pleasure. "My business was really my hobby," he said. "If someone told me I could make \$100 million in the plumbing business, I wouldn't do it because I only get involved in things I enjoy."

Now, he is engaging Gretzky and Wayne's manager team to help him market this new toy, Canadian football, and he has added the scruffy-faced Candy in a different marketing capacity. Candy's buoyant personality and natural wit will be employed in television commercials and he will be a readily recognized ball-tossing giant for football boosters in all the CFL cities.

How did Candy become part of this transaction? When the question is asked, Candy's mouth goes tight on his bottom teeth. "I called up

Bruce to congratulate him for being successful," he said, frowning. "He asked me 'I was involved.'"

As for McNall, he is a chunky man physically, five-foot-one and more than 200 lb., with an easy smile and a pile of black slugs, crooked, back-lane McNall's public manner tends to be charming and confident, with a little half-smile sticking to play at the corners of his lips. He made a lot of money as a relative child through a fascination with soccer balls. At the age of 6, he started his own collection. "I really believe they were only a dollar apiece," McNall said, "that something 8,000-year-old was that impressive."

So he began trading them, then selling the rarer ones for a profit and buying even rarer ones. He recalls that when he was 14, he purchased his grandmother to lead him \$3,000 to buy a collection he had seen in a shop window and believed to be unobtainable. "I logged her for a week," McNall recalls. "When she gave me the money, my parents were furious."

But then, McNall says, he started to sell and two-thirds of the collection for enough to pay back his grandmother. McNall, who sometimes seems to grow confused over some of his early dealings, says that by the time he was 25, he was making about \$60,000 a year and bought a semi-truck. At the age of 30, he signed up at the University of California at Los Angeles studying ancient history, he remembers upgrading his car to a Rolls Royce.

McNall says that an early chess was one of the world's richest men, J. Paul Getty, and through his association with Getty he met other rich collectors, including the American actor-baron Nelson Bunker Hunt, the apparently just nearly \$300,000 for a coin called the Athens Democratic, struck in 468 BC. Within two months, he sold it for a profit. Later, he says, he paid \$1 million to get a back and received back half the \$5 million.

Through Bunker Hunt, an owner of fast thoroughbreds, McNall got interested in horse racing. He bought the colt Triplets a week before the horse won the elusive Preakness at the Thoroughbred racing during the 1970s. McNall says that he had a small film production company that during the late 1960s scored with *My Men*, *Blame It on Me*, with Michael Caine, and most recently *The Fabulous Baker Boys*, a huge success, with Michelle Pfeiffer and the Redford brothers, Beau and Beau.

So now, then, from these lively successes three lives away away, how come McNall knows about the Argonauts' plight in distant Toronto and what is their appeal? The little smile makes his inevitable appearance. "Well, it's not a matter of 'I'm sorry,'" he said. "This is a challenge. This is a challenge to make a success of Canadian football just now when it's struggling. One day, Harry Orest and I happened to be taking football—well, on the board of the Hollywood Park Race Track in L.A., and I used to watch the results of Grey Cup games on satellite. The satellite has taken the Argos, and then he said, laughing, 'Want to buy 'em?' and I said, not laughing, 'Sure,' and here we are."

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## RIDING THE MOVIES

THERE IS NOTHING  
MICKEY MOUSE  
ABOUT THE HUGE  
EXPANSION OF  
HOLLYWOOD  
THEME PARKS

It is a cross between a roller coaster and a movie—a motion picture that physically moves the viewer. The passenger steps into an eight-seat vehicle modeled on the DeLorean time machine in the *Back to the Future* movies. A safety bar slides down. The vehicle lifts off through cold, white clouds of nitrogen gas toward a giant movie screen. Choosing a bite of wings, the craft seems to screech buildings, skid roadways and crash through a barrier into the ice rap. Swinging and weaving, it hurtles down canyons, takes a shattering dive into an icy river, darts over sets of lava and descends into a demon's mouth. The *Back to the Future* attraction, which opened to the public last month at Orlando's Universal Studios Florida, is probably the most expensive amusement-park ride ever built, costing at least \$40 million—much more than the 1445 blockbuster that inspired it. Designed by a team that includes filmmaker Stephen Spielberg, it features Canadian cinematic technology—a visual, concise screen that struts seven stories tall, so vast that its edges escape the eye's peripheral vision. And it is the latest milestone in a billion-dollar battle for supremacy being waged by Hollywood theme parks.

**Expansion:** Attractions like *Back to the Future* offer an experience that Spielberg calls "reeling the viewer." In the past decade, Spielberg, director of *E.T. The Extra-Terrestrial* and the Indiana Jones trilogy, established himself as the new force in the science of Hollywood fantasy—as generation's answer to Walt Disney. Now in the 1990s, he is joining those exploring a new Hollywood frontier. Turning big-screen adventures into rides, stunt shows and backstage tours, movie theme parks play on the popular desire to get inside Hollywood. And



they are undergoing a phenomenal expansion. Warner Bros. Inc. is currently building a three-part in Australia. The Japanese electronics giant Sony Corp., which purchased Columbia Pictures Entertainment last year, recently announced plans to construct a U.S. park called *Sonyland*, but details are still vague. And *Rollercoaster*—a \$1.4-billion park currently under construction near Paris—opens early next year.

**Meatballs:** So far, the two major players have been The Walt Disney Co. and the entertainment conglomerate MCA Inc., both based in Los Angeles. Disney originated the concept of a show-business theme park when it created Disneyland in the L.A. suburb of Anaheim in 1955. Then, in 1971, it opened Walt Disney World in the central Florida city of Orlando. MCA's Universal Studios Florida, which opened its huge Hollywood look-alike to tourists in 1993, added a train tour in 1995. It has since expanded with a still-designed movie theme park.

can dream, structures of peace, prosperity—and enthralling thrills. Mickey Mouse, Disney's garden-variety mascot, is always ready with a giant anteater and a white-gloved hatchling. At MCA's Universal Studios Florida, visitors can catch a whiff of King Kong (convinced banana breath) or ride a train of bicycles to E.T.'s native planet. Safe, synthetic and larger than life, the Hollywood theme parks serve as a sanitized utopia, a pleasure dome where politicians cringe and America's sinners are forever clean and crime-free. It is a tightly controlled environment—even outdoors, where road-track music is piped from landscaped gardens. "It's the glorious multi-sensory sky come true," and Jeffrey McFar, a Toronto-based consultant who helps in design these parks around the world.

Recess and war have put a dent in theme-park attendance. But the spring school break in March has traditionally promised a huge influx

packs in Florida and California registered an estimated 44 million admissions last year. Tokyo Disneyland, a licensed park which opened in 1993, is also thriving.

**Realities:** Orlando is the hub of Disney's theme-park empire. The city has some 70,000 hotel rooms, more than any other urban center in North America. On the outskirts, Disney owns a 31,000-acre spread—an area more than twice the size of Manhattan—of which 8,600 acres have been developed. Disney World now ranks as the most popular tourist attraction on the planet. It includes three separate parks. The Magic Kingdom, a re-creation of Anaheim's Disneyland, opened in 1973. The Epcot Center, a collection of pavilions representing the world's 192 nations, was added to the addition of the Disney MGM Studios park in 1989, a complete tour of Disney World now takes three to four days.

Disney World also functions as a full-scale resort. Four new hotels opened there last year, two are under construction, and seven more are planned. By 1995, Disney World will contain 19 hotels with nearly 16,000 rooms. "We have a very good financial position," Disney's chief financial officer, Michael Eisner, told *Newsweek*. "I don't take anything for granted. The world's changing so quickly. But if you're the premier theme park, which most people say we are, you can probably weather it." Eisner added that although the company is not slowing down its hotel construction, "we are watching our accommodations—we're not crazy."

**Rivalry:** Although Universal cannot compete on the same scale, as the beach newcomer in Orlando it has initiated a fierce rivalry with Disney. In the early 1980s, MCA assembled a 644-acre tract at least just 15 km from Disney World. Hoping to take a King Kong-sized bite out of Disney's business, the company explored the possibility of building a studio park with Paramount Pictures, which Eisner then headed. That deal fell through, and Eisner moved to Disney in 1984. Then, Universal to the park, Eisner went along with Disney's stance at Disney World.

Exposed executives at MCA charged that Eisner had stolen their ideas. "We were just amazed at what those bastards did," MCA executive Jay Stern said last year. Eisner, however, provides a dramatically different account. Stern is "an out-of-control person," he charged. "I'll accuse you of stealing their new ideas. I never even saw them. And I've never been at the Universal tour in California—I heard it was boring." Added Eisner: "But they seem to have borrowed theme-park concepts from us, until it looks like a Disney park in a way—which is flattering. It doesn't upset me."

While building their Orlando park, MCA executives decided to make it bigger and better than Disney's. "Well, Universal's got the greatest adventure movies and theaters of all time,"



King Kong attraction at Universal breathes and a giant hand to jostle riders

More recently, the two companies have created their theme parks in Orlando that combine studio facilities with tourist attractions. In 1989, Disney, collaborating with Hollywood's MGM, launched the Disney-MGM Studios Theme Park, an expansion of Disney World. Then, last year, MCA, in a co-venture with Britain's Rank Organization Ltd., unveiled its 1910-million Universal Studios Florida. The result has been a heated competition between Disney and MCA, a showdown between Mickey Mouse and E.T. And although the corporate duel appears to have lost its bitter edge, there is still a strong rivalry. Said MCA president Sidney Sheinberg: "What our people are trying to do is build a better mousetrap."

In competing to perfect the technology of leisure, Disney and MCA have taken Hollywood exceptions to its logical conclusion. Their theme parks are wide-open preserves for the Amer-

ican dream—structures of peace, prosperity—and enthralling thrills. Mickey Mouse, Disney's garden-variety mascot, is always ready with a giant anteater and a white-gloved hatchling. At MCA's Universal Studios Florida, visitors can catch a whiff of King Kong (convinced banana breath) or ride a train of bicycles to E.T.'s native planet. Safe, synthetic and larger than life, the Hollywood theme parks serve as a sanitized utopia, a pleasure dome where politicians cringe and America's sinners are forever clean and crime-free. It is a tightly controlled environment—even outdoors, where road-track music is piped from landscaped gardens. "It's the glorious multi-sensory sky come true," and Jeffrey McFar, a Toronto-based consultant who helps in design these parks around the world.

Recess and war have put a dent in theme-park attendance. But the spring school break in March has traditionally promised a huge influx





## Rising to a challenge

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

Obviously, it is good policy not to reply publicly to letters in the editor column about the contents of the back page. Suppliers calling the proprietor a jerk, idiot or cretin for alleged lies should be allowed their brief hour in the sun, and then can say: We are nothing if not democratic, as God in his wisdom knows well. However, there are occasionally exceptions to this compassionate rule. Such, for example, with one Senator Trevor Byrne, arguably the most powerful businessman in Canada, who is unhappy with the recent presentation here of his role as boss man of Brascan in leading the Royal Bank bid for a worthless testimony of the ailing-accused Prime Minister, Brian Mulroney, who only lately has discovered that the country is falling apart.

The neophyte senator is a well-known man with the *Kenos* machine. I have received letters addressed to Mulroney's, to The Parliament, and with his copies to both places and everywhere except the bus stop. Most interesting, the accused senator sends copies in order of his integrity to Ronald W. Osborne and Kevin Doyle.

Kevin Doyle happens to be my editor, and such correspondence is usual. But Ronald W. Osborne happens to be the president and chief executive officer of Madson Hunter Ltd., which happens to own this lately magazine. Are we taking introduction here? Does the good senator actually think Ron Osborne does this column? Or has any sense of it is a punishment.

Since the baby senator feels moved to paper the news with a letter that begins "Dear Allan," it seems only appropriate that the reply be shared with the nation. Aside from the fact that the senator cannot seem to be able to spell Mulroney nor the name of the gentleman if the thief who chased the bitch gathering, he concludes with "I do hope your future columns are more accurate. In the mean time (sic) would you kindly make the necessary corrections."

Only more than glad to see your plea of innocence in the matter written up from Bay Street to pristine police would desire tears



from a state. Most hilarious is his claim that he is not one of the "senator" senators appointed last fall by Mulroney to get the dirt through the upper chamber.

Is the man crazy? The at-the-moment Prime Minister announced to anyone who would listen last year that he planned to pack the Senate to reverse the Liberal majority there that had vowed to block the GST. On Aug. 24, he appointed five new loyal Tories to the Senate. On Sept. 7, he appointed three more, reporting late my microphone available his clear intention to find every worthy Conservative body to the land capable of being carried into the Red Chamber, by parameters if necessary.

On Sept. 25, he appointed three of the country's most prominent businessmen, followed shortly after by eight others assumed courtesy of a foreign source who lives in another country across an ocean. One of those corporate titans, of course, was our newly appointed boy

Trevor. Did he actually think he was chosen because of his deep interest in day care or the Fresh Water Fish Marketing Board? The word boggles at his assumed moral rectitude.

Big Trevor is a clever lawyer. He writes, "Brascan did not buy its timber for the last decade but shared one with an affiliate company." Pause that sentence. It might indicate at first glance that Brascan purchased only one-half a table. Another lawyer might say it duly suggests Brascan in fact purchased only 254 tables—not so. Strongly enough, the official list shows Brascan purchasing tables 13, 21, 22, 23, 26 and 30, for a total of 60 hard Timbers.

Consider the sentence: "While Brascan does banking with CIBC, it and its affiliates carry on substantial banking relationships with all of the major Canadian banks and a great many banks outside of Canada." CIBC implies, trying to camouflage that everyone on Bay Street knows that the CIBC is Brascan's bank—why else would it top every other bank and everyone else with seven tables and 70 credit-limited bottoms?

He has only one complaint bordering on accuracy. He points out that he was present for 43 out of 61 days. He knows as well as I do that the Senate convenes its attendance in "sittings"—sessions—rather than calendar days, most in those house-playing filibuster days of last fall some "sittings" extended over several days. The Senate count has Byrne showing up, however briefly, for 25 of the 31 sittings last fall—the worst attendance record was 19 sittings.

Most puzzling of his claims is that he is "not receiving from corporate boards to try to avoid potential or real conflicts of interest." Here is a man who is judged to own \$24 million in shares in the Brascan-controlled empire that has been under intense scrutiny by every major Canadian newspaper recently for the paper-juggling that creates an absurdities.

Then the new senator, who sat on 24 corporate boards that included General Motors (Lafayette), London Life, MacDonald Dorell, Noranda, Royal Trust, Standard Breveling, Tranco and on and on, actually thinks he might not be raising his legislation affecting any or all of them? Come on, boy senator, wake up.

Strongly, he did not mention one item in the complained-about column. His absence from the abortion vote, having been seen on the Senate floor earlier that day, and the day after, in fact absolving himself to attend a big Toronto party at your time. So the legal dirt we're not could be caught on either side of the contraception abortion argument? Just asking.

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